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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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7 June 1985

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Algerian-Hungarian Communique Issued (EL MOUDJAHID, 1 May 85).....	1
---	---

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CTK Views Economic Summit, Bitburg Visit (CTK, 10 May 85).....	2
Anniversary of Liberation of Czechoslovakia (Gustav Husak; PRAVDA, 8 May 85).....	3
CSSR To Display SS-21's at 9 May Parade (AFP, 8 May 85).....	10
Interview With Visiting Czechoslovak Minister (Olga Mikhael; JORDAN TIMES, 11 May 85).....	11
Leaders' Anniversary Message to GDR Counterparts (RUDE PRAVO, 9 May 85).....	13
Moral Education of Socialist Men (Jan Podhradsky; RUDE PRAVO, 5 Apr 85).....	14
Seifert Said To 'Endorse' Official Meeting Aims (Frantisek Cinger, Vladimir Hrouda; PRAVDA, 13 May 85).....	17
Korcak Opens Socialist Exhibition in Kromeriz Castle (Prague Domestic Service, 16 May 85).....	18

Briefs	
Cooperation With Angolan Minister	20
Strougal Receives Colombian Minister	20
Ethiopian Industry Minister Received	20
Pentagon Policy's 'Offensive Character'	21
U. S., Israel in Lebanon	21
GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC	
New Chemical Agent Detector Described	
(MILITAERTECHNIK, No 2, 1985).....	22
Journal Reported Criticizing LDC Arms Build-Up	
(IWE TAGESDIENST, No 58, 17 Apr 85).....	24
Countermeasures to Real Estate Black Market Noted	
(DER SPIEGEL, No 16, 15 Apr 85).....	25
HUNGARY	
Aczel Comments on Various Issues for Polish Weekly	
(Gyorgy Aczel Interview; POLITYKA, No 18, 4 May 85)....	27
Grosz on Aftermath of MSZMP Congress	
(Karol Grosz Interview; NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, No 1788, 7 Apr 85).....	32
Student Aid for Skilled Worker Trainees	
(Gyorgy Kerenyi Interview; OTLET, 28 Feb 85).....	37
POLAND	
Polish Press Comments on Gorbachev Plenum Speech	
(PAP, 26 Apr 85).....	40
Party Activities in Armed Forces Viewed	
(Jozef Baryla; ZYCIE PARTII, No 9, 24 Apr 85).....	42
Passport Chief on Travel Increase, West's Visa Refusals	
(PAP, 2 May 85).....	45
PZPR's Bednarski Writes on Significance of May Day	
(Warsaw Domestic Service, 5 May 85).....	46
Antisocial Behavior Theses Presented to Sejm	
(Justice L. Domeracki; TRYBUNA LUDU, 30 Apr 85).....	48
Episcopate Holds Plenary Conference in Jasna Gora	
(Vatican City International Service, 4 May 85).....	50



Academic Explains Intelligentsia's 'Frustrations'	53
(Maria Tyszkowa Interview; GAZETA POZNANSKA, 12 Apr 85).	

## Briefs

Cooperation With Tunisia	57
Internal Security Corps Anniversary	57
Barcikowski Decorates Banner	57
Poresbski at CC Session	57
Czyrek Receives Youth Leaders	57
Olszowski Attends Anniversary Session	57
Orzechowski, Bednarski Meet Delegation	58
Siwak at Warsaw Plant	58
Polish-Romanian Tourist Agreement	58
CPSU Cultural Delegation	58
Messner Receives Romania's Pungan	58
Kubiak, Michalek in Krakow	58
Bejger Attends Lenin Fete	58
Siwak at Ostroleka Plenum	58
Orzechowski, Polish-Soviet Meeting	59
Michalek Attends Pila Meeting	59

## ROMANIA

Peoples Councils Appointments, Removals Reported	60
(BULETINUL OFICIAL, No 22, 30 Apr 85).....	

## Briefs

Retirement of Official	61
------------------------	----

## YUGOSLAVIA

Leaders Grant Interviews for May Day	62
(BORBA, 3 May 85).....	
Kosovo Interior Secretary on Security Work	64
(TANJUG, 13 May 85).....	
Officials Visit Interior Secretariat on Security Day	65
(TANJUG, 13 May 85).....	
TANJUG Reports Mamula Security Day Message	66
(TANJUG, 12 May 85).....	
TANJUG Notes Anniversary of Security Service's Founding	68
(Ruzica Petrovic; TANJUG, 13 May 85).....	
SAWP Body Endorses Platform for World Youth Festival	69
(BORBA, 14 May 85).....	

War Veterans Delegation Completes Moscow Visit (TANJUG, 13 May 85).....	70
Zagreb Views PRPZ CC Plenary Meeting (Zagreb Domestic Service, 15 May 85).....	72
Slovene Economist on 'Consensus Economy' (Joze Mencinger Interview; NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, No 1787, 31 Mar 85).....	74
Obstacles to Housing Reform Described (Velizar Zecevic, et al.; NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, No 1788, 7 Apr 85).....	82
Ivan Supek Book on Hebrang Case Attacked (Usos Soskic; VJESNIK, 13 Jan 85).....	88
Briefs	
'Misinformation Campaign' Denied	97
Yugoslav-Greek Tourist Cooperation	97
Djuranovic Greets CSSR President	97
Sukrija Greet CSSR President	98
Delegation in Algiers	98
Mamula Receives YPA Officers	98

7 June 1985

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

## ALGERIAN-HUNGARIAN COMMUNIQUE ISSUED

[PM091323 Summary] Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 1 May 1985 carries on page 6 an 800-word APS Report on the Joint Algerian-Hungarian communique issued at the end of a visit to Algeria by Hungarian Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi 27 through 30 April 1985. The communique reports on Varkonyi's meetings with Algerian leaders including President Chadli Bendjedid and the talks between MSZMP and FLN delegations on bilateral relations, the international situation, and the world economic crisis.

CSO: 2900/3

7 June 1985

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

## CTK VIEWS ECONOMIC SUMMIT, BITBURG VISIT

LD102058 Prague CTK in English 1954 GMT 10 May 85

[Text] New York, May 10 (CTK)--At a time when U.S. President Ronald Reagan returns home from his 10-day West European tour the conviction prevails in the U.S. mass media that the President's [European diplomatic mission] was actually a big failure for United States in all respects. It was Reagan's address to the European Parliament in Strasbourg, East France, that was expected to be the main point in his European tour. In his speech on the day of the 40th anniversary of the victory of the allied armies, Reagan did not find a single word to appreciate the great endeavour and the sacrifices of the Soviet Union which was the most important member of the anti-Hitlerite coalition during World War II.

Neither brought anything new another meeting of the West European industrially advanced countries, the United States and Japan, as expected. The majority of them spoke up against U.S. economic, political and military pressure.

The situation was similar also in the case of Reagan's project of "Star Wars" which received resolute rejection mainly by France and a lukewarm consent by several other countries.

In Spain, in particular, Reagan faced opposition to his hostile policy against the Nicaraguan revolutionary government.

As regards Reagan's exceptionally rude and shameful move in support of "final reconciliation" with Germany, most U.S. commentators denounced Reagan's provocative visit to the cemetery in Bitburg. By this visit, Reagan actually proved that, despite his assertions, he is not on the side of the millions of victims of the Nazi terror but on that of their murderers.

CSO: 2020/124

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

ANNIVERSARY OF LIBERATION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PM211000 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 May 85 Second Edition pp 4, 5

[Article by Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and CSSR president: "Czechoslovakia's 40 Years of Freedom"]

[Text] The Czechoslovak people regard 9 May, the day of the victory over Hitlerite fascism, as the most important landmark in their modern history. On this day in 1945 the liberation of Czechoslovakia was completed. Our peoples will never forget that historic time when, as a result of a lightning operation, the Soviet Army came to the assistance of insurgent Prague and completed its glorious combat march in World War II in Europe.

This day was also the culmination of the Czechoslovak people's national liberation struggle, whose most glorious moments include the Slovak national uprising, and the May uprising of the Czech people.

The heroic Soviet people and their glorious army gave invaluable assistance to the Czechs and Slovaks in their national liberation struggle. The fascist bloc concentrated its main forces on the Soviet-German front. They remained there even after the opening of the second front in West Europe, which was delayed for so long. The Soviet Army killed 10 million Hitlerites -- three-fourths of all fascist Germany's military losses.

The rout of fascism was the result of the joint efforts of the peoples of the anti-Hitler coalition. However, it is an incontrovertible fact of the history of World War II that the Soviet Union was the decisive force in the anti-Hitler coalition and made the main contribution to the victory and the deliverance of human civilization from fascist barbarity.

The anti-Hitler coalition, which united states with different social systems, was an effective instrument of the mobilization of all the forces of democracy and peace for the struggle against the common enemy. This historical experience is particularly valuable today when a new danger -- the threat of nuclear war -- is looming over mankind. The most important lesson of World War II demands that the peoples of the world, irrespective of different views and convictions, struggle together to prevent another

military holocaust on the planet. For this reason the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism are inseparably linked with the key task of present times -- the struggle to prevent nuclear war, stop the nuclear arms race, and eliminate all types of nuclear weapons.

The liberation from fascism opened the road to a new life for the peoples of Czechoslovakia. Klement Gottwald rightly described 9 May 1945 as the beginning of the brightest era in Czechoslovak history -- "the era of the rule of the people, the era of free labor by the people's masses, the era of building socialism."

During the years of the antifascist struggle the Czechoslovak people traveled a path full of suffering. They will never forget the vile collusion of the four imperialist powers in Munich in the fall of 1938, when Great Britain and France betrayed Czechoslovakia and came to an agreement with Hitler and Mussolini on its virtual liquidation. Munich at the same time meant the ignominious political and moral failure of the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie, the collapse of both its domestic policy and its foreign policy orientation.

The Czechoslovak people never forget either that it was none other than the Soviet Union that was ready to give them military assistance against the Hitlerite aggression. The USSR resolutely denounced the Munich diktat and never recognized it.

For this reason, during the difficult war years the Czechoslovak people linked their liberation with the Soviet people's Great Patriotic War and saw the most reliable guarantee of their freedom and independence in alliance and cooperation with the USSR. The Czechoslovak-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance, and Postwar Cooperation, signed 12 December 1943, was fully in keeping with our people's aspirations. It reflected a fundamental turning point in Czechoslovakia's foreign policy orientation and its people's national liberation struggle.

In accordance with the spirit of this treaty, the Soviet Union gave all-around assistance and support to our national liberation struggle. In the international arena it unconditionally advocated the right of the Czechs and Slovaks to reestablish their integrated sovereign state. The USSR selflessly helped us to form Czechoslovak military units on Soviet territory and to organize the partisan movement on the territory of our occupied motherland. Great assistance was given to the Slovak national uprising and the May uprising of the Czech people.

We will never forget the heroes of the Great Patriotic War, we will never allow the memory of the 144,000 Soviet soldiers who gave their lives for the liberation of Czechoslovakia to fade.

The Czechoslovak people are proud of the fact that they made a worthy contribution to the rout of fascism by offering resistance to the Hitlerites from the first days of the occupation. Czechoslovak servicemen under the

command of General Ludvik Svoboda, shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet Army, traveled the glorious path from Somolovo through Kiev and the Dukla Pass to Prague. Our indestructible friendship is sealed with the blood shed in the struggle against the common enemy. Our country's citizens also fought on other fronts of World War II, in underground organizations, and in partisan detachments, and they faced torture and death in concentration camps and prisons. Some 360,000 Czechoslovak citizens perished in this unequal struggle.

The working class and its revolutionary vanguard, the CPCZ, played the leading role in our people's national liberation struggle against the Hitlerite occupation forces. The Hitlerites killed one-third of CPCZ members. But despite the mass terror and repressions, the Communists waged the most active, the most consistent struggle for our people's freedom. In this struggle they united all the patriotic forces in a broad antifascist National Front. This became the basis of the future political system of our society.

The Communists consistently combined the national liberation struggle with the struggle for a just social and national postwar structure. During the Slovak national uprising in the summer and fall of 1944 extensive revolutionary social transformations were initiated which were the prototype of the cardinal political and social changes implemented on the territory gradually liberated from the fascist yoke.

The first government of the National Front of Czechs and Slovaks proclaimed in Kosice in April 1945 a government program outlining specific tasks and objectives of building a new state in accordance with the spirit of the national democratic revolution. On the basis of this program, the broad masses under the leadership of the Communist Party established organs of the new people's power and gradually implemented the profound revolutionary transformations which made possible the transition from the national democratic revolution to a socialist revolution.

The political struggle for the people's character of the reborn Czechoslovak state was finally and irreversibly concluded in February 1948. At that time, the ruling elite of the bourgeois parties organized a counter-revolutionary putsch in an attempt to reverse the revolutionary process and reestablish the pre-Munich bourgeois regime. However, through their resolute action the Czech working people thwarted reactions designs and upheld the gains of the national liberation struggle. The February victory over reaction opened wide for our people the road toward building socialism.

We can say with legitimate pride today that under the leadership of the Communist Party the people of socialist Czechoslovakia have attained the main goals for which preceding generations waged a long struggle which demanded great sacrifices. The victory of socialism eliminated exploitation of man by man, established true democracy for the working people, and ensured real social and political rights for them.

Thanks to four decades of successful socialist building, the CSSR now possesses a mighty economic and spiritual potential. The republic's industry now produces as much output in less than a month as was produced in prewar Czechoslovakia during the most productive year. There are no backward regions on the state's map. It was noted at the 16th CPCZ Congress in 1981 that a most important task -- "the elimination of the difference between our peoples' of economic, political, and cultural living conditions which grew up over centuries" -- has been virtually accomplished.

Profound changes have occurred in the life of Czechoslovakia's countryside. Modern, large-scale, cooperative agricultural production was organized within a short period on the lines of Lenin's cooperative plan. The volume of agricultural production exceeds the prewar level by 50 percent. And this is despite the fact that only one-third of the number of people previously employed in agriculture work in the sector now.

The population's living standard, its personal and especially its social consumption have risen markedly. The socialist state also invests large sums in the development of health care, education, culture, housing construction, and social security. Concern for people's well-being remains the meaning and aim of the party's policy and of the socialist state's entire activity.

Our people's national democratic revolution created the conditions for the consistent political and economic solution of the nationalities question which has found expression in the CSSR'S federal arrangement.

The country's all-around development during the postwar period has been characterized by the people's selfless fruitful creative labor. When tackling the complex questions of building a new society, the CPCZ has proceeded from Marxist-Leninist theory and its creative implementation, drawing on the rich source of the experience of the CPSU and the Soviet people.

In the process of the socialist restructuring of society we had to overcome considerable obstacles and difficulties placed in our path by the class enemy. There were also certain mistakes and miscalculations, which the party and the people managed to rectify, however. Our party and society experienced a grave period in the late sixties, when they faced a concentrated offensive by counterrevolutionary and right-wing opportunist forces which, with the support of international reaction, mounted an attack on the working people's socialist gains. The counterrevolutionary attempt to eliminate socialism in our country was thwarted thanks to the international assistance of allied states.

After the successful consolidation of society, Czechoslovak Communists were able to put forward a program for building developed socialism at their 14th congress in the early seventies, a program which was further elaborated at the 15th and 16th CPCZ Congresses. The past 15 years have



been a period of the further strengthening of socialism and of the flourishing of our socialist society.

Taking legitimate pride in the results achieved, we are, however, aware of the complexity of the new tasks facing us in the coming period. It is a question of ensuring that we more consistently implement the demands for greater production efficiency, high labor productivity, all possible savings, and better quality work everywhere, and that we more rapidly introduce the achievements of scientific and technical progress, thus switching the economy to the path of intensive development.

These tasks are an inseparable component part of the continued building of a developed socialist society, the enhancement of the population's material and cultural living standards, and the comprehensive safeguarding and strengthening of the country's defense capability.

Questions connected with the present and future development of socialist Czechoslovakia are now, on the eve of the 17th CPCZ Congress, at the focus of attention of Communists and of all society. In the cause of ensuring the further stable and dynamic socioeconomic building of the socialist society and CPSU'S activity during the period of preparations for the 27th Congress and the drafting of the new edition of its program is a source of inspiration to us.

The historic victory over Hitlerite fascism and Japanese militarism opened a new stage in world development and in international relations. The soviet people's heroism and their example gave strength above all to the working class and the people's masses, which rose in many countries in a revolutionary struggle for independence and freedom. In a number of states, including Czechoslovakia, the national democratic revolutions of the forties developed into socialist revolutions. Their victory marked the beginning of the building of the new society in these states and the establishment of the world socialist system.

The revolutionary processes gained in scope. The face of the world changed considerably. The sphere of imperialist domination was reduced. The just struggle of the people's masses for national independence and freedom rocked to its foundations the colonialist prison of the peoples and destroyed it. Dozens of new independent states rose from the ruins of the world colonial system.

Imperialist forces, however, have refused and are refusing to accept this law-governed historical process. They are trying to reverse it, to foist their domination on the world. For this reason these forces are now arbitrarily proclaiming "spheres of their vital interests," kindling conflicts in many parts of the world, and trying to crush the peoples' struggle for independence through pressure and violence. They are feverishly fueling the arms race and seeking to obtain military-strategic superiority over the Warsaw Pact states.

The Czechoslovak people are not and cannot be indifferent to these actions, they cannot look on passively when U.S. first strike nuclear weapons are being sited on their western border. Nor can they remain indifferent to the Washington administration's plans to militarize space. For this reason the Czechoslovak people fully participate in the efforts of all the socialist countries aimed at protecting peace and they actively support the Soviet Union's well known peace initiatives, including the USSR's stance at the Geneva talks on nuclear and space arms, for the sake of preventing an arms race in space and ending it on earth.

The Soviet proposal contained in the interview given to a PRAVDA correspondent by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, that the USSR and the United States introduce a moratorium on the development (including scientific research work), testing, and deployment of space strike weapons for the entire duration of the talks and freeze their strategic offensive weapons has met with our citizens' response and unconditional support. The struggle against nuclear war, which could lead to the destruction of the planet and of all human civilization, is a vitally important cause for all the peoples and every person on earth.

Socialism's defensive shield, the military-political alliance of the fraternal countries united in the Warsaw Pact, is of the greatest significance for the defense of the socialist community and for world peace. For three decades now it has reliably ensured and continues to ensure the fraternal states' collective security, the inviolability of their borders, and our people's tranquil peaceful life. The extension of the Warsaw Pact's term for a further period sealed by the signatures of the fraternal countries' representatives during the recent Warsaw summit was, in view of the current alarming international situation, a necessary and the only correct step. The existence and might of the defense community of Warsaw Pact member states remain the decisive factor in maintaining world peace because they represent an insurmountable obstacle in the path of aggressive imperialist aspirations. The Warsaw Pact will not allow the NATO bloc to gain military-strategic superiority. This is our duty to our contemporaries and to future generations.

The cornerstone of the Czechoslovak foreign policy orientation is friendship with the Soviet Union. Our political, economic, and social confidence and our people's international security rest on the firm foundation of the Czechoslovak-Soviet alliance. For this reason we develop and protect this alliance and will vigilantly guard it as the most important legacy of our national liberation struggle.

Fifteen years ago, 6 May 1970, our fraternal countries signed a new Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance. It was an expression of the qualitatively higher level of all-around relations between our two socialist states and gave an impetus to the further improvement of cooperation, which we are successfully developing in many spheres.

Economic cooperation with the Soviet Union is a most important factor in the dynamic development of our national economy. The socialist countries' might is augmented by their joint coordinated actions in the international arena and their mutually advantageous cooperation in all spheres. A significant step forward in the fraternal states' collaboration was the CEMA member countries' economic summit conference in Moscow in June 1984. Its decisions have a beneficial impact on the growth of mutual cooperation in all spheres concerned with the implementation of tasks arising in connection with the intensification of the economy and the development of science and technology. Czechoslovakia also attaches great significance to the program for long-term economic, scientific, and technical cooperation between the USSR and the CSSR through the year 2000 which is currently being drawn up and which will be an important factor in the two countries' economic rapprochement.

This collaboration and coordination of activity are a reflection of the principles of socialist internationalism which form the firm and indestructible basis of Czechoslovak foreign policy.

The 40th anniversary of the rout of Hitlerite fascism and of the end of World War II is a subject of actual confrontation in the current ideological struggle in the international arena. However, our class enemy's attempts to distort the historical truth and to use the jubilee for spreading new fabrications, lies, and slander about the USSR and the other countries of real socialism and for launching crude and unbridled new attacks against the communist parties and the entire progressive anti-imperialist movement are futile.

It is no accident either that imperialist circles are trying to use the 40th anniversary of the victory for extensive attempts to call into question the postwar territorial structure in Europe, to attack the allied accords and agreements reached in Yalta and Potsdam, to discredit these agreements, and to create an atmosphere conducive to a revision of the outcome of the war and of postwar development in Europe. Some people even go as far as to call for the "liberation of the socialist countries" and to fabricate all kinds of theories about the so-called "open German question" to back up their adventurist plans.

These are the vain dreams of people whom class hatred of socialism has rendered politically blind. The socialist countries' peoples, who at their own wish staged a socialist revolution, will never give up their revolutionary gains.

The Czechoslovak working people regard this as the behest of 9 May, Victory Day. Together with the peoples of the USSR and the other fraternal socialist countries, we regard firm unity, consistent implementation of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and our joint struggle to preserve peace as the guarantee of our security and socialist Czechoslovakia's future prosperity and as a reliable safeguard and guideline for the present and the future.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CSSR TO DISPLAY SS-21'S AT 9 MAY PARADE

AU081423 Paris AFP in English 1418 GMT 8 May 85

[Text] Prague, May 8 (AFP)--The Czechoslovak Army will display three of the new short-range SS-21 missiles at a military parade here tomorrow commemorating the end of World War II in Europe, Western military attaches here said.

The sources, who were surprised at the development, said it was not certain that the Czechoslovak Army even had any of these missiles until they were spotted at night rehearsals this week to prepare for tomorrow's events.

The SS-21 mobile tactical missile has a range of 120 kms (75 miles) and can be equipped with a conventional, chemical or nuclear warhead, though Czechoslovakia has signed a nuclear non-proliferation treaty which rules out detention of nuclear payloads.

The Soviet Army first started using the SS-21 in 1976 and now has about 40 such missiles, according to Western sources.

The missile is concealed inside a nearly 10-meter (yard) long carrier.

Until now, only a poor photograph of the camouflaged missile existed in the West, but it was paraded openly during rehearsals and there was no attempt to prevent Westerners from taking photographs.

Western sources here said the SS-21 could be among "counter-measures" the Soviets said they would take after the first Pershing-2 missiles were installed in West Germany in 1983.

American sources said another 40 or so SS-21 missiles have reportedly been stationed in East Germany but remain under Soviet control.

They were designed to replace the older Frog-7 missiles, which is less precise and has a shorter, 70-km (50 mile) range.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

INTERVIEW WITH VISITING CZECHOSLOVAK MINISTER

JN111337 Amman JORDAN TIMES in English 11 May 85 p 3

[Article by Olga Mikhael, special to the JORDAN TIMES]

[Text] Amman--Czechoslovakia fully supports the rights of the Palestinian people to self determination and to establish an independent state. It also believes that the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) should take part in any negotiations of international conference concerning the Middle East issue or the Palestinian cause, Czechoslovakian Minister of Labour and Social Affairs Emilian Hamernik announced in Amman Thursday.

In an interview with the JORDAN TIMES, Mr Hamernik said: "When we are speaking of the rights of the Palestinian people, we are speaking in terms of concepts of freedom and democracy and we believe that the life of a people should be decided and determined by the people themselves."

The Czechoslovakian official clarified that his country has a very clear stand vis-a-vis the Middle East conflict and that it has continuously supported the Palestinian cause in all international platforms and forums.

"During my meetings with Jordanian officials, we discussed various matters including Jordan's policy, the Palestinian-Jordanian accord reached on February 11, Israel's arbitrary and oppressive measures and the concept of exchange of land for peace," he said.

He went on to say that holding an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations and in which all concerned parties should participate, including the PLO, "is a very necessary step towards solving the conflict in the Middle East."

Mr Hamernik is currently visiting Jordan upon an invitation from the Czechoslovakian-Jordanian Friendship Society and is on the tour in his capacity as the chairman of the Arab Committee of Czechoslovakian Friendship Society for International Relations.

During his visit Mr Hamernik met with Upper House of Parliament Speaker Ahmad al-Lawzi, Lower House Speaker Akif al-Fayiz and Ministry of Labour and Social Development Under Secretary Salih Khasawnah. They discussed ways to promote

cooperation in all fields and reviewed means to develop parliamentary affairs between the two countries, especially in the field of exchanging delegations.

#### Fields of Cooperation

Mr Hamernik explained that there are many fields in which both Czechoslovakia and Jordan can cooperate. Czechoslovakia, he added, is a highly developed, industrialised country which is ready to offer experts that might help Jordan in specific technical and industrial projects. Also, Czechoslovakia is ready to train technical cadres to help in developing the economy of Jordan, he added.

At present, there are four Czechoslovakian technical experts working at the Ministry of Public Works in Jordan who are providing the technical advice for many construction projects. However, Mr Hamernik explained, Czechoslovakia is not satisfied with the volume of present cooperation and hopes that in the future more fields of cooperation will develop.

"In the last twenty years we constructed around 200 projects in various Arab countries such as Syria, Iraq, Libya, Algeria Tunisia, Yemen and Kuwait," he said.

Mr Hamernik pointed out that Jordan is a dynamic country and has rapidly developed a strong economy although it has limited resources.

Concerning cooperation in cultural fields, Mr Hamernik explained that there are around 200 Jordanian students who have graduated from Czechoslovakian universities. "I have met with these students during my visit and I am very proud to say that they are well-qualified people who are contributing to the development of the Jordanian economy and society," he said.

Czechoslovakia exports around one fifth of its industrial output and imports most its raw materials and food. Czechoslovakia imports large quantities of phosphate from Jordan and exports industrial products, machinery and plastics. Mr Hamernik pointed out that there is a scope for further development in business between the two countries.

"Although my visit to Jordan is not official, it was an opportunity to meet with Jordanian officials and to study fields of cooperation and spheres for exports and imports," the Czechoslovakian official concluded.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

LEADERS' ANNIVERSARY MESSAGE TO GDR COUNTERPARTS

AU130838 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 May 85 p 3

[CTK report]

[Text] Prague (CTK)--Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and CSSR president, and CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal have sent Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, a congratulatory telegram on the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitlerite facism, that states:

Esteemed comrades, on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the crushing of Hitlerite fascism and the liberation of the German people, we send sincere comradely greetings to the SED Central Committee, the GDR State Council and the Council of Ministers, the people of your country, and you personally.

The USSR's victory in the Great Patriotic War affirmed the historical superiority of the socialist social system over the most reactionary forces of imperialism, brought freedom and peace to many nations of Europe, and positively influenced the further course of world history.

Communists and other antifascists--faithful to the legacy of the best sons and daughters of the German workers class--made use of the opportunity given them in 1945 to overcome the difficult heritage of the past, and devoted all their energy to creating a new, democratic, and socialist society.

The GDR, the first peace-loving workers' state on German soil, has become a strong, dynamically developing state that is an important stabilizing factor in the endeavor to maintain lasting peace in Europe and throughout the world.

During these festive days, we wish the people of the GDR and you personally, on behalf of the people of the CSSR, the CPCZ Central Committee, the CSSR Governments, as well as on our behalf, many further successes in fulfilling the conclusions of the 10th SED Congress, in the work for the prosperity of your country, and for the well-being of the people of the GDR.

May the community of the socialist countries further flourish and strengthen in the interest of preserving peace in the world.

CSO: 2400/414

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

MORAL EDUCATION OF SOCIALIST MEN

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Apr 85 p 4

[Article by RSDr Jan Podhradsky, CSc: "Involvement With Contemporary Needs"]

[Excerpts] Considering the process of educating the socialist man, the fifteenth session of the Central Committee of the CPCZ emphasized in March 1980: "Our goal is not to educate ascetics and saints, but versatile human beings capable of growth who know how to work and enjoy life. The ideal is not some superhuman hero, but a hard-working man devoted to the cause of socialism, a believing patriot and internationalist.

Only in a patient, long-term and diversified process of education of the new man who thinks and acts as a socialist can one apply the values proper to the new society. We seek the sort of life which is characterized by harmonious relations among individual, group and social interests. We are creating a morality which is free of selfishness, individualism and other attributes of petty bourgeoisie.

However, in spite of this intensive effort in social education, we can still observe in some people a kind of behavior which could be called grasping, calculating. People like to hoard things, they want to have as many material possessions as possible, often at any price. For them things become a fetish, not only a means but an end, the very point of life, a social status criterion and a symbol of well-being.

People usually adopt such misconceived values, they form these false ideas about the meaning of life already in childhood, in their families or under the influence of misguided education. To modify a malformed pattern of everyday behavior, one that has been fixed since childhood, is quite complicated and demanding. It requires an immense effort on the part of schools, society and calls, above all, for a purposeful, critical, and unfailing pressure exerted by the work collective in which the individual is active.

Socialist society rejects the cult of pathological consumption, the consumer's approach to life. These are phenomena incompatible with socialist morality, they are harmful because they demoralize people, because they deprive them of their identity, of their human nature and in their consequences, can lead, and often do lead, to antisocial behavior, to self-enrichment through illegal means.



Society must know how to defend itself against those who want to enrich themselves at the expense of the whole. However, that presupposes that one recognizes and removes the causes, which aid the rise of economic criminality. Stealing and damaging of property in socialist ownership is made possible in particular by shortcoming in the protection of this property. These shortcomings have a common denominator: irresponsibility, slovenliness, negligence, inconsistency, insufficient control. As one attempts to solve cases of economic criminality, one almost always runs into misconduct and mismanagement at the level of enterprises, especially in the field of supplier-consumer relationships and maintenance services. One uncovers instances of ritualist and negligent performance of guard duty, erratic protection and ritualist inspection of factory installations, and insufficient control of vehicles around factory installations, and insufficient control of vehicles around factory exits. Along with that usually go deficiencies in inventories of materials and manufactured products, in storage and shipping, as well as substandard procedures for listing of production assets. Control in such cases is either below the standard or is merely formal.

Mistakes in management and decision-making, thoughtlessness or inconsistency in supervision, have an unfavorable impact on the keeping of economic discipline. This occurs especially where functions pile up, where one person controls both the financial and material resources and is responsible for inventory and control, as well or holds a job without the proper professional qualification and moral prerequisites.

Non-compliance with technological norms in manufacture, attempts of some businesses to introduce new products without upgrading their functional qualities while increasing their prices, too, can lead to and sometimes results in criminal action. Willful abuse of social resources is usually the result of an irresponsible management of waste, of violation of inventory regulations, non-compliance with work procedures, etc.

Speculation and antisocial acts are often the consequence of insufficient satisfaction of everyday needs of citizens by socialist business, by discrepancies between production and distribution, between manufacture and services, between consumption and the actual needs of the consumer.

The way out of a complicated labyrinth of mismanagement, negligence, and slovenliness actually rests on the consistent application of the fundamental law of socialism--to each only according to his real merits. Reward for work must be closely related to the growth of work productivity, to efficiency, economy and quality of performance. Equalitarian trends and various false "social" approaches to reward undermine the sense for social fairness, they weaken the initiative and interest of honest workers in the achievement of the best possible outcome of their work. The standard of living of each of our citizens must correspond to his particular contribution to the program of society as a whole.

There is no need for miracles to improve things. Improvement depends on people. On the other hand, it would be senseless and dangerous to rely on a

kind of an automatic transformation of man by socialism. It is our duty to educate man, show him the way he is to follow, and the values which really matter. The struggle for a new, socialistically thinking and acting man is made more difficult by the fact that our society is a society of general prosperity, of real and considerable rights, which are shared by its members. Socialist man is formed as the result of a long and complicated transformation of one set of values into another.

CSO: 2400/362

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SEIFERT SAID TO 'ENDORSE' OFFICIAL MEETING AIMS.

[AU141032 Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 13 May on page 1 carries a 900-word report by RUDE PRAVO staff journalists Frantisek Cinger and Vladimir Hrouda entitled "Appealing to the Hearts of Millions Through Art." The report deals with a "festive session" of representatives of all Czechoslovak artists' unions in the National Theater in Prague on 12 May to mark the 40th anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army. According to the report, the aim of the meeting, which was held under the slogan "Through Creative Deeds in the Name of Revolutionary Brotherhood Toward Fresh Victories of Socialism and Peace," was to "profess allegiance to the national liberation struggle of the Czechoslovak people, pay tribute to the people of the Soviet Union and to its heroic army, express the determination to enrich the life of the socialist society with new works of art, and voice unequivocal support for the struggle for peace and social progress."

The report says, in part: "The ideas of the session were endorsed also by artists who were unable to take part in it. Messages of greetings were addressed to it by National Artists Karl Zeman, Jaroslav Seifert [winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1984 and prominent signatory of the Charter-77 manifesto of Czechoslovak opposition], Hermina Tyrlova, Josef Palenicek, Milada Subrtova, Vaclav Smetacek, and Vilem Pribyl."

According to the report, the session was attended by a party and government delegation led by Josef Havlin, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee.

CSO: 2400/414

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

KORCAK OPENS SOCIALIST EXHIBITION IN KROMERIZ CASTLE

LD161806 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1400 GMT 16 May 85

[Text] A permanent exhibition entitled "National Committees--the basis of Socialist Democracy in Czechoslovakia", illustrating the 40-year development of these fundamental units of state administration and power, opened in Kromeriz state castle today. Present at the festive opening was a party and government delegation led by Josef Korcak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Czech Premier, who made a speech.

He said the 40-year development of the national committees testified to the successful course in fulfilling the administration of our socialist state in the interest of towns and villages and in realizing the many-sided interests of citizens. Those 40 years have confirmed the correctness of the belief that the creation of a new attitude of the broad masses to state power and administration is one of the most complicated tasks of the socialist revolution. Making people aware of and winning them over for the common task was the pivotal point in the work of the representative bodies in all stages. This is true even more at the moment in realizing the goals of the 6th session of the CPCZ Central Committee and preparing the Eighth 5-Year Plan and new electoral programs. The process of broadening citizens' involvement in the management of towns and villages, together with efforts to make administration more effective, simpler, and cheaper, is the main and permanent tasks of the party's policy. In the interest of more effective development of society, we seek new and more effective means of realizing the rule of the people and strive for the best possible application of practically-tested forms.

Representative bodies enjoy great rights. They should apply them more consistently and fully so that shifting responsibility onto others does not occur. The struggle against examples of indifference to the needs of the people, against substituting political activity with bureaucracy, and against bureaucratic practices and routine attitudes, is and will be an important means of strengthening authority and consolidating links with citizens.

At the moment the most important thing is the ability to achieve genuine results in all spheres and to properly check them against real life and by applying the high criteria of socialism. This brings to the fore such

features as ideological maturity, principled nature and professional competence, an aptitude for new developments, being prepared to accept responsibility, and the ability to assess new decisions through the political prism. We are convinced that deputies, officials, and voluntary workers will pass this test with honor and that--under the leadership of the CPCZ and in cooperation with the bodies of the National Front and enterprises--they will honorably fulfill their tasks.

CSO: 2400/414

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

COOPERATION WITH ANGOLAN MINISTER--Milos Jakes, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, today received Henrique Carvalho dos Santos Onambue, candidate member of the MPLA party of labor Central Committee Political Bureau and minister of industry, who is heading the delegation at the 3d session of the Czechoslovak-Angolan mixed commission for economic, scientific, and technical cooperation.. They informed one another about the situation in their countries and fraternal parties and expressed an interest on both sides to further develop party, economic, and scientific-technical cooperation. During the conversation full solidarity with the struggle of the people of Angola for the strengthening of their security, unity, and stability was expressed. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1930 GMT 15 May 85]

STROUGAL RECEIVES COLOMBIAN MINISTER--Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal received today in the Hrzan Palace in Prague Gustavo Castro Guerreo, minister of economic development of the Republic of Colombia, who is visiting Czechoslovakia. In the conversation Comrade Lubomir Strougal praised the foreign policy of the Republic of Colombia and the Contadora group countries' efforts aiming at eliminating tension and averting the danger of a war conflict in Central America. He also emphasized that for both Czechoslovakia and Colombia it is very beneficial in all ways to intensify mutual relations and to seek further opportunities for extending the exchange of goods on a long-term basis. At the close of his visit, the guest handed to Comrade Lubomir Strougal a message from Colombian President Belisario Betancur Cuartas for President of the Republic Gustav Husak. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1200 GMT 17 May 85]

ETHIOPIAN INDUSTRY MINISTER RECEIVED--Milos Jakes, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, received Hailu Yemenu, member of the Ethiopian Workers' Party Central Committee Politburo and minister of industry, who is in Czechoslovakia, on a friendly visit. They briefed each other on the tasks and activities of their respective parties, especially in the area of the realization of economic intentions and aims set out by the congresses of both parties and about the possibilities of further developing mutual cooperation. They also voiced identical views on the resolution of international problems. The Ethiopian guest briefed Milos Jakes on the results of the endeavors of the Ethiopian leadership to overcome the consequences of catastrophic drought, and thanked the Czechoslovak people for the help given to the population of the distressed areas. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1500 GMT 17 May 85]

PENTAGON POLICY'S 'OFFENSIVE CHARACTER'--Prague May 16 (CTK)--"Pentagon's report which comprises intentions for the coming years clearly shows the offensive character of the objectives and the military doctrine of the pentagon", the daily RUDE PRAVO said today. The paper pointed out that a great majority of the U.S. military spendings is designed for offensive weapons and combat technology which enable the U.S. armed forces conduct armed interventions. The report describes as the main tasks of the military policy the efforts to win military superiority over the Soviet Union and protection of U.S. interests wherever they are threatened, meaning interventions in the jargon of the pentagon generals, RUDE PRAVO stated. It noted that armament is expected to escalate next year. For the 1986 fiscal year the pentagon demands 317,000 million dollars against 284,700 million in the previous year. As to space weapons, the 1986 spendings are expected to be 164 percent higher. In connection with prospects of the Geneva talks RUDE PRAVO pointed out that pentagon resolutely opposes everything that could hinder its plans. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 1034 GMT 16 May 85]

U.S., ISRAEL IN LEBANON--Bratislava, May 16 (CTK)--"Reliable sources confirmed what was long a public secret in Lebanon and the whole Middle East: unrest, tension and terrorist actions in Lebanon are mostly the work of U.S. and Israeli agents who on the order of their government circles obstruct the stabilization and settlement of the situation not only in Lebanon but in the whole region". This point was stressed today by Slovak daily PRAVDA in connection with information published by THE WASHINGTON POST on the activity of CIA agents in Lebanon. "This information revealed a new fact on the order of the U.S. activity in Lebanon develops directly on the order of the U.S. president. This influenced also the tour of U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz of Israel, Egypt and Jordan the aim of which was allegedly to seek ways out of the crisis but in reality Shultz sought suitable partners and collaborators to support the U.S. intentions to keep, extend and strengthen its power positions in the Middle East," the daily said. "No efforts for a political settlement based on the principles of justice but terror in the form of explosion such as that of March 8 in Beirut are characteristic for the present U.S. policy in the Middle East", it concluded. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 1030 GMT 16 May 85]

CSO: 2020/127

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

NEW CHEMICAL AGENT DETECTOR DESCRIBED

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 2, 1985 (signed to press 9 Jan 85)  
p 106

[Unattributed article: "GSA 12 Toxic Agent Indicator"]

[Text] The GSA 12 Toxic Agent Indicator determines whether or not phosphorus organic vapors are present in the air. The GSA 12 is an optical-mechanical photocalorimeter, which consists of the following components: the instrument container, the signaling device, two drip nozzles with the diagnostic solutions, the connecting cables, the power supply unit and the EWZ [extension unknown] unit.

The indicator band starts moving immediately upon the power being turned on. This band travels through the instrument within the time periods required by the test cycle. After the 25 mm band segment, which is saturated with indicator fluid, has entered the capstan device, the air to be analyzed is sucked through the band. If phosphorus organic toxic agents are present, they are absorbed within 120 seconds. Immediately following this, diagnostic solution No 1 is dripped upon the same band segment; No 2 follows after a certain delay. After another 30-second waiting period, photometry commences, i.e., the comparison of the optic density of the band segment to be analyzed, with a threshold value.

If the air contains phosphorus organic agents, the optical density of the segment can no longer reduce itself to the threshold value. The optical and acoustic "Danger" signals are activated. If the air is clear, the optical density of the band segment being analyzed drops rapidly, and 30 seconds later the reading drops below the threshold value. The danger signal is not activated.

The GSA 12 Toxic Agent Indicator is operative in temperatures ranging from -40 to +45° C. The relative humidity must not exceed 98 percent, barometric pressure must be 1000±70 hPa. The time period between the start of the effect of toxic agents upon the indicator band and activation of the "Danger" signal is less than 15 minutes. Continuous working time with one full load of indicator fluid is 8 hours.



The GSA 12 Toxic Agent Indicator is mounted on UAZ 469Ch and BRDM 2Ch chemical reconnaissance vehicles or on stationary supports.

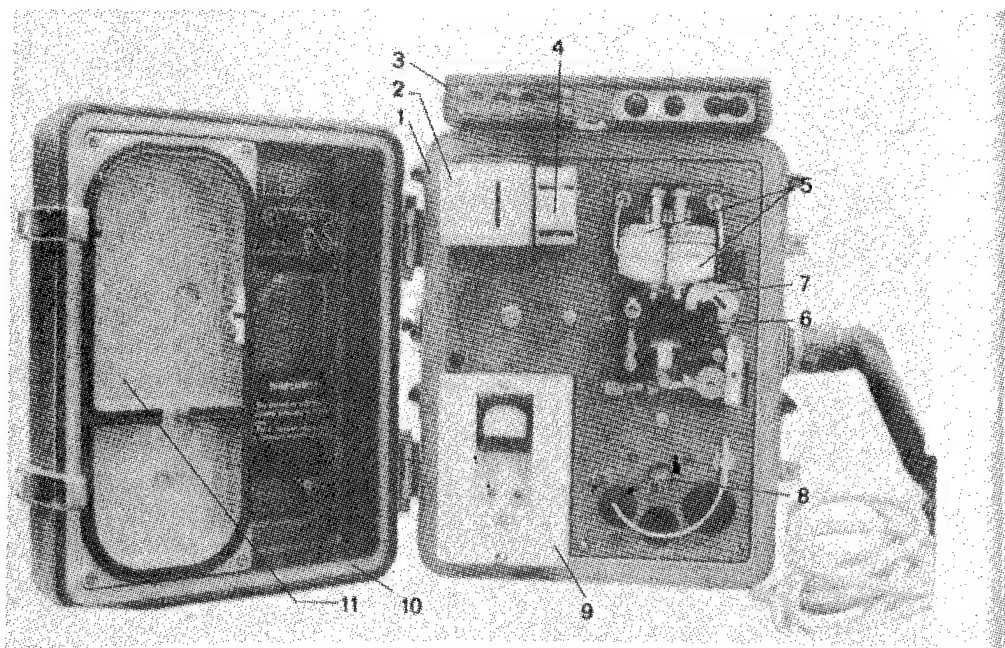


Fig 1. Transmitter of the GSA 12 Automatic Toxic Agent Indicator

1. Cover, 2. Air permeation control unit, 3. Remote control and remote signaling console, 4. Air filter, 5. Drip nozzle with diagnostic fluid No 1, 6. Reaction chamber, 7. Photometry unit, 8. Preheating chamber for diagnostic solution containers, 9. Electronics unit, 10. Container cover, 11. Insulation shield.

9273

CSO: 2300/374

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

JOURNAL REPORTED CRITICIZING LDC ARMS BUILD-UP

West Berlin IWE TAGESDIENST in German No 58, 17 Apr 85 p 2

[Article datelined Berlin 17 Apr 85: "East Berlin Criticizes Developing Countries' Armament"]

[Text] East Berlin ASIEN-AFRIKA-LATEINAMERIKA has criticized the increasing arms build-up of many developing countries and has simultaneously laid the blame for it unilaterally on Western countries. The journal asserts that the conflict between the developing countries' growing arms expenditures and the prerequisites for effective economic development is growing ever more intense. By being included in the arms spiral, nonaligned countries are being deprived of urgently needed material, financial and human resources requisite for national development and the struggle against hunger, disease and illiteracy, and all prospects for the solution to these problems are rendered illusory. There is an extremely negative effect on the interests of the developing countries involved in the arms spiral, especially since the extent of the involvement is in some cases already considerable. Negative effects also arise from the fact that armament in developing countries is affected by such factors as the existence of centers of conflict and tension, the rousing of "regional aggressiveness" in the case of some political and military leaders, and efforts to gain domination. Size, combat capability and objectives of individual countries' combat forces were said to have a significant effect on the arms race in the developing countries. On the one hand, reactionary internal elements were using this phenomenon to stabilize power; on the other hand, there was a tie-in with the demands of national defense, which also made necessary increasing expenditures, which in some cases are already excessively high.

CSO: 2300/390

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

COUNTERMEASURES TO REAL ESTATE BLACK MARKET NOTED

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 39 No 16, 15 Apr 85 pp 36, 38, 41

[Article: "Little Escapes--Up To Now, the SED Hasn't Succeeded in Controlling Real Estate Speculation in the GDR"]

[Text] One by one, visitors push into the parlor of Fritz Kulike (name changed by the editors), who has inherited and therefore has something to sell: a cozy little one-family house, with 75 square meters floor space and a small garden, nicely located at the edge of a small GDR town. So now, there is a house auction at Kulike's.

The news got around quickly, the heir deals with the interested parties at 10-minute intervals, enters columns of figures in a long list. An "old comrade" offers 15,000 marks--ridiculous. A workman wants to buy it for 30,000 marks--his offer is not even noted down.

A professor, privileged upper-class, forgets socialist morality: his offer is 50,000 marks, plus a premium amount of DM 2,000--the scholar has brought it along. A butcher is looking for a house for his son and would shell out 80,000 marks, and a few thousand in Western money are negotiable. Kulike remains silent and writes.

Only after he has evaluated his list will he give the go-ahead to one of the would-be buyers, either by mail or in a confidential talk. His haggling over Grandma's little house is risky: the authorities set the value of Kulike's inheritance at 13,000 marks. He can be prosecuted for every mark extra he secretly collects.

According to the pertinent regulation, only the state has the right of "management and control of real estate transactions." Whoever wants to sell off one of the rare little pieces of private land, must first ask permission of the kreis or bezirk council. It is only granted--so determines the Civil Code--if the purchase price corresponds to the legal price regulations.

It takes strong nerves to make something on the side. If the authorities find him out, in the best case his lovely side deal is blown: the state collects everything above the official appraisal price.

Or else, the kreis council makes sure of new people's property and takes away the entire piece of land under the law of "right to prior purchase" in order to "carry out state or societal interests," according to the real estate transaction regulation. In addition, the offender can also expect a penalty.

Nevertheless, heirs and owners succumb to the discreet charm of market economy; real estate speculation is booming in the GDR. East and West marks change hands on the sly, before buyer and seller have a fictitious contract notarized. The demand is great, many GDR citizens long for at least small escapes from the standardized concrete bunkers or barren new apartment constructions.

A special directive on the furnishings of state-owned apartments is the cause of the East variant of bleakness. It determines the standard, from the "screw-on hose connector for washing machine" to the "chime for front door bell," from the "flat radiator with short-circuit line and valve" to the "kitchen sink with curtain rod." Whoever prefers individuality, and who also wants to escape the ubiquitous spies in these "dwelling machines," must either build or buy.

However, many no longer wish to undertake the adventure of building a small house by themselves. According to the Statistical Yearbook of the GDR, during the years 1971-1983, at least some 160,000 homes were completed in "individual home construction"--about 12 percent of all new home construction during that period. But since 1982, that number is dropping considerably.

Construction of a new private home--the floor space is prescribed by the authorities--with realistic costing comes to 100,000 to 150,000 Marks; much more than the state is willing to finance through credit.

Concrete and bricks, wallpaper and doors often can be found only on the black market--at horrendous prices. At "gray" exchange markets, pipes are traded for heater ribs, thermal windows for mixing machines. And workmen, without ado, demand payment in Western currency.

In view of such troubles with building, sellers of well-preserved single or multi-family homes do not have to worry about customers--they come all by themselves. For this reason, in small towns they gladly refrain from praising their property in eye-catching ads in the local paper; they also have to be approved first by the authorities.

Since speculation with houses and real estate would not be controlled with laws, the SED people have come up with a new wrinkle: banks in the GDR received internal orders to report to State Security every customer who withdraws more than 10,000 marks at one time.

After all, anyone carrying home that much cash must have something evil in mind: either he pays for some scarce item at an inflated black market price, or he wants to buy material assets and run off to the West.

HUNGARY

ACZEL COMMENTS ON VARIOUS ISSUES FOR POLISH WEEKLY

AU081310 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 18, 4 May 85 pp 1, 8 AU

[Interview with Gyorgy Aczel, MSZMP Politburo member, by Daniel Passent:  
"We Have To Look at Reality"; date and place not given; first installment]

[Excerpts] [Passent] Following the 1956 events, how was it possible for the Hungarian leadership to win far-reaching public support?

[Aczel] It is true that the MSZMP began its political activity under conditions of a profound crisis, which threatened the achievements of socialism. There is no doubt that we could never talk about safeguarding and intensifying our achievements in the past 40 years if we had not followed a changed policy in the past 28 years. It is no exaggeration to say that the tragic year 1956 forced us to think over almost everything from the very beginning.

We agreed that socialism is a program for people's historical advancement and for improving and enriching their lives, that Marxism can help in implementing this program, and that we must not impose by force a single theoretical thesis or statement on reality. The point of departure was and is for us the thesis that we build socialism for all the people with their participation. That is why, for the good of our socialist homeland, we sought to unite the efforts of party members, nonparty people, representatives of various social strata and classes, believers and nonbelievers, and citizens of Hungarian and other nationalities.

[Passent] What about the disappointed people?

[Aczel] It was precisely faith in socialism and the trust we put in people that taught us a lesson, which was fully verified later on, namely, that people were disappointed by erroneous policy practiced in the name of socialism, but were not disappointed by socialism. At one time I said: If one divorces a woman, it does not mean that one is disappointed with all women and with marriage.

From the very beginning we believed in the principle of trust and we used to grant trust in advance. For example, we abolished compulsory deliveries of farm produce within a few weeks of ending the struggle, although we had had floods in summer and a disastrous drought the year before. Still, we

trusted that farmers would sell their produce if they could receive decent prices and if everything took place under normal conditions. This means that our changes and reforms in agriculture date back to the aforementioned measures and not only to the end of the sixties.

[Passent] Did these changes also apply to the party?

[Aczel] Our principle was: It is necessary to implement socialism without too much bloodshed and without sweat and tears. Socialism can be accomplished by all the people and not only by party members. For this reason it is necessary to change the party's entire life. This is to say that we have again built our reorganized party on Leninist principles and that we see that it functions in line with precisely these principles. We have said and continue to say that nonparty people may exercise all functions except party functions, that the party's leading role means service and not dominating, and that party membership must not involve any benefits. If necessary, the government must stop the overlord attitudes of certain people and prevent all abuses of authority.

[Passent] Stark realism and the absence of wishful thinking are the distinctive features of your statements. In your book "Instead of the Cancelled Debate" you wrote that "political subjectivism is the greatest danger, a dangerous weakness, which obscures vision, makes it easy to conceal errors, makes it difficult to amend errors, and induces us to see idealized and not true reality. After difficult years, our party knows how great this danger is and how to avoid it." You also wrote that "all the machinations of all our enemies are unable to wreak so much damage as our errors are."

[Aczel] This last idea is an ever recurring thought with Lenin, and we want to learn from it. It is true that we try to see reality only as it is. In our reforms we avoid dogmatism if reality requires that we do and if this is necessary in order to achieve our goals. We modify our measures under changing conditions and we have done this many a time.

Under the conditions of the one-party system we must be especially careful to ensure that the party is able--as Comrade Kadar said--to oppose itself. To achieve this we must constantly subject our activities to control exercised by various social groups. We must also create and constantly develop such political mechanisms as can guarantee that the differences in interests, which are a natural attribute of our society, and the rich variety of values come to light and reach responsible representative bodies and that common interests gain precedence over all other interests through the party's integrating function. Socialism is not a world without contradictions and conflicts. It is a society in which contradictions can be sensibly solved.

[Passent] The Poles continue to watch your activities, especially in the economy and democracy.

[Aczel] This is an honor. We also watch carefully the experiences of the fraternal socialist countries--experiences that are common to us and experiences that are specific to a given country. We want to learn from everyone and we take over whatever we can use in our socialist building.

Our attitude toward democracy is similar. We are pleased that so much is being said about democracy. This is because socialist democracy is still of necessity in development and because this subject is one of the most important points of our international ideological discussions.

Bourgeois propaganda is very keen on using the weapon of democracy in the case of Poland, Hungary, and other socialist countries and makes groundless comparisons when examining the issue of democracy in dissociation from a specific historical situation, although it is impossible to contemplate this issue without taking time and space into account.

The issue is not only what Marx had in mind when he said that a nation that oppresses other nations cannot be free. The imperialism of our times has supplied many tragic proofs of what bourgeois democracy means in worldwide relations between highly developed countries and supranational concerns, on the one hand, and developing countries, on the other.

[Passent] What have been the most important recent measures to promote socialist democracy in Hungary?

[Aczel] We have taken many measures in the past few years. We have liquidated the old districts, thus depriving the Hungarian administrative system of century-old traditions. In this way the links between the administration and the population have become more direct. We have set up a new Council for Constitutional Law and have expanded the powers and rights of people's central control. We have increased trade unions' democracy and powers and have changed the election system. In a few months it will be compulsory to name a number of candidates for a single vacancy. Aside from this, the electorate will elect 10 percent of the candidates from the central list. However, one of the most important measures from the viewpoint of socialist democracy is a new form of enterprise management. Many enterprises are run by a management that is directly elected by workers. The enterprises with a more complicated organizational structure and with large numbers of workers are run by enterprise councils elected by representatives of workers. These collectives make strategic decisions, and managers are responsible to them.

[Passent] Are party members eliminated from managing posts during elections?

[Aczel] I do not think that this problem exists. This is because many party members are good at their managing posts. Please remember that a new intelligentsia has come into being in Hungary. Every third university graduate is a party member. What presents a problem is the fact that still too many people are in managing posts without the necessary professional education. Moreover, we have become convinced for a long time now that the



party's leading role does not have to be demonstrated everywhere in an organizational form, by which I mean party members being in a majority everywhere and fulfilling leading functions. The party's leading role asserts itself wherever party policy becomes the determining factor. The more our nonparty allies understand and represent this policy, the better for us. I would like to add that we are convinced that the new forms of enterprise management will increase and not decrease the role of party organizations and trade unions in enterprises. It is true that it will no longer be possible to conduct party activities as in the old days, but party organizations have an important task to accomplish: to help the party in implementing its economic and general policy under given changed conditions. It is needless to add that in this regard we are far from asserting that we have already invented and tested everything there is to invent and test.

[Passent] You make no secret of the fact that you have also used the positive experience of agriculture and producer cooperatives when making changes in enterprise management.

[Aczel] This experience was really an inspiration for us, but you cannot mechanically transfer experience from one area into another. For us it is a normal fact that one-fifth of our producer cooperatives have been run by the same stewards for the past 20 years and 60 percent of them by the same stewards for the past 8 years and that new stewards take over one-third of these cooperatives each time after elections. These data denote two trends: Cooperative members are attached to their stewards, who are efficient in their jobs; on the other hand, cooperative members do not hesitate to change stewards when they think they should be changed.

This is one more example that the development of our agriculture, which has won international praise in the past few years, required the necessary funds, investment policy, reorganization, and social changes.

We embarked upon this course in 1958 when we began to promote new collectivization. As you know, this process started in 1949 with the help of unsuitable methods and under unsuitable conditions. In 1958 we used political methods, persuasion, and incentives.

[Passent] Was the mood in Hungary in 1958 favorable enough to collectivization?

[Aczel] Peasants were distrustful before that date, and our decision was difficult. I can say that we had ding-dong discussions about many concepts. There were people who thought that collectivization--creating modern farms--could be promoted only after the necessary material and technical conditions had been ensured and after the necessary skilled knowledge had been obtained by the population. Others, who were pessimistic about ensuring such conditions, thought that collectivization should be fully introduced at once, without making any allowances for the peasants' aversion to a higher form of farming. There were also idealistic intellectuals who knew peasant life inside out and who were convinced that it would be impossible to overcome



the individualism and age-old desire of the Hungarian peasants to own land. They were wrong as we know. As for us, bearing in mind all these factors, we selected a solution primarily backed by efforts to convince, persuade, gradually create the necessary conditions, and ensure rational support. This policy was helpful in the socialist reorganization of farming and appealed to those segments of the peasantry that knew how to farm. These peasants accepted this policy, even though they had previously suffered painful and unjustifiable wrongs. This policy paid attention to and promoted the development of those specific phenomena that, being part of the traditions of the Hungarian village, went hand in hand with this favorable process. Let no one think that, for example, individual farming plots were invented by some civil servant. We had nothing against the fact that the process of collectivization took 3 or more years in some regions. Nor have we anything against the fact that even today there are several scores of thousands of individual farmers in our country.

The fact that we have been able to carry through this historic change within such a short time, that our farm production continues to increase on this account, and that the Hungarian rural areas, which were stagnant for centuries, have become the most dynamic areas of our social life confirms the correctness of our arguments. We have been able not only to regain the trust of our farmers, but also to irreversibly consolidate our worker-peasant alliance.

CSO: 2600/782

HUNGARY

GROSZ ON AFTERMATH OF MSZMP CONGRESS

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1788, 7 Apr 85  
pp 48-49

[Interview with Karol Grosz, member of the Politburo of the MSZMP Central Committee, by Nenad Briski: "Principles, Not Dogmas"]

[Text] (From NIN's special reporter in Budapest)

It is true that economic topics dominated the 13th MSZMP Congress, but it did not all end with economics. Since it had to do with a period of changes and reconstruction, as was stated, at this congress, which was held under the slogan "Further along Lenin's path," a multitude of ideas were announced, many of which were supported precisely by citing Lenin.

It was thus emphasized that it is easier to solve problems in a democratic atmosphere, with the possibility of expressing views and patriotic sentiments. It was also mentioned that a confrontation of interests should be made possible, and that a consensus should be arrived at through discussion.

The view was expressed that in the 20th century the only states that can be considered civilized are those which apply the Leninist principle that the nation that represents the majority must respect the minority. It was also stated that persuasion is most productive in ideological life, and that one should be patient with those who in today's complicated world are sincerely seeking the right path and new solutions. Lenin and his idea that the majority must always listen carefully to the minority were mentioned again.

And once more Lenin was mentioned, this time his idea in 1921 that "in the mass of workers, peasants, and intellectuals one may find a very large number of honest non-party members, who must be put in significant positions in building the economy, while being subjected in a suitable manner to supervision and guidance by the Communists. On the other hand, there is also a need for the non-party members to supervise the party members..." Interpreting this idea, the speaker stressed that Lenin considered cooperation between party members and non-party members to be a relationship of equal partners with equal rights and equal positions, and that the great merit of the MSZMP was that it was applying this principle.

## Independent View

In regard to principles, it was pointed out that the Hungarian party was guided by firm principles, but that they were not dogmas, and that a debate was a necessary precondition for party democracy and the adoption of correct decisions. The conclusion that once a decision has been adopted by a majority of votes, everyone should carry it out consistently, was greeted by tumultuous applause.

One of the more noteworthy contributions to the debate was made by Karol Grosz, the first secretary of the Budapest party organization, who was elected to the Politburo of the MSZMP Central Committee at the end of the congress.

Karol Grosz is an energetic 50-year-old, and at the end of a strenuous working day--the debate was held from 9 to 13 and from 15 to 19--he did not show even a trace of exhaustion. We asked him what the most important task in Hungary was, in view of everything that was said at the congress.

[Answer] The first and most important thing, in contrast to the past 7 years, is to accelerate the development of the economy, and to increase the annual growth rate of the national income to 3 percent. In the last few years we have had a growth of 1 to 1.5 percent. Now we want to double the growth rate.

[Question] Judging by the present situation, that will not be easy.

[Answer] You are right. It will not be easy precisely because the reserves that can be mobilized quickly have been virtually exhausted in the last 7 years. Another difficulty is that our economy has strong ties with the international economy, and this can be a source of uncertainty. We have already, however, concluded our program for cooperation with our most important partner, the Soviet Union, up to the year 2000.

## Style of Work

[Question] Will the economic reform also have consequences on the political level?

[Answer] Let us first clear up the essence of the reform, since we are not speaking the same language in this system of concepts. A reform like the one being carried out in the economy cannot occur in politics, nor is it necessary. But the system of political institutions, the party's style of work, state administrations, and thus the overall political sphere, must develop continually. This was particularly stressed at the congress.

[Question] Should it develop in the direction of further democratization?

[Answer] Yes. You surely know that new forms of management in enterprises will be in effect beginning 1 January next year. The preparations are beginning now. The form of state management will not be utilized in 70 percent of all industrial enterprises in the country; instead they will be managed by enterprise councils or selected leaderships.

[Question] Does this mean that they will have more authority than the central management organs?

[Answer] They will not have more authority, but they will have many more rights than in the past. Even in the past they had considerable independence on many issues, but now we are going further. This is a process that cannot be tied to a definite data. Their powers will be increased but they cannot be greater than the powers of the Central management organs. This cannot be measured, and these two things cannot be compared.

[Question] At the congress, a great deal was said about social differences. Are they too great?

[Answer] The present range of wages is not broad enough, and it should be broadened. But the level of the lowest wages should be higher, and the highest ones, lower. The two ends should be brought closer together, but on the whole a broader scale should be created. In other words, the upper 10 percent and the lower 10 percent should be eliminated, and the existing range of wages, 1:7, should be increased at least to 1:10 or 1:12.

As I said, however, in doing so we should eliminate socialist millionaires, on one hand, and the poor, on the other. Looking at it from another angle, we should raise the poverty level, since there will always be poor people. This is a relative concept, and fewer and fewer people should be in this category. Unjustifiably large earnings should be reduced. I say unjustifiably, since there are also justifiably large income, as is the case, for example, with Erne Rubik (the inventor of Rubik's Cube).

[Question] Also interesting are the debates on private initiative.

[Answer] We are not only not opposed to private initiative; we are supporting it in a very far-reaching manner. Furthermore, our problems are not in the area of private initiative, but rather in the state and cooperative spheres, since that is where bribery and corruption are dominant. There are abuses by some private entrepreneurs, and we are preventing them, but it would be really good if we managed to straighten out the state and cooperative spheres as we are doing with the field of private initiative.

[Question] Many observers at the congress were surprised by the open mention of social tensions. It seems to me that this was not discussed as openly two years ago, when I visited Hungary last.

[Answer] Two years ago, there was as much tension as there is today, to say the least. If we look at it from the economic point of view, the tension has not increased in the last year or two, but rather declined. At the same time, however, it has increased in politics. Why? Because for 7 years now the population has not perceived an increase in the standard of living, and political tensions have accumulated. Consequently, this is not something that appeared just now; it has been piling up for 7 years now.

We are living in 1985, but we have the 1977 standard of living. Today the economy is beginning to emerge from stagnation, but people's attitude is becoming worse--and thus there is an unnatural link between these two things. The essence of the problem is that the population is beginning to lose its patience. Their economic position is no longer growing worse, but their attitude is.

[Question] We have talked about the reform, although it is difficult to hear the word reform here.

[Answer] Listen, it is very simple. One should not talk about the reform, but rather about how to carry it out. Ten years ago we talked about it, but we did not implement it. Then we began to implement it, and consequently we are talking less about it.

### Concept of Socialism

[Question] Interesting views were also expressed at the congress on the need to change the concept of socialism. What is actually meant by this?

[Answer] I have dealt with this problem for a long time now. Now this was perhaps discussed more spectacularly at the congress, but that does not mean that the issue has not been on the agenda for party work for years now. We have already been dealing with it for a long time.

What is the essence of the dilemma? For a long time we thought, honestly and with the best of intentions, that the building of socialism would occur with fewer conflicts and that it would be rapid. As we have experienced, in the past 40 years socialism has undergone three major crises, not to count the minor ones, namely 1956 in Hungary, 1968 in Czechoslovakia, and 1980 in Poland.

On the basis of these three events, we tried to draw the appropriate lessons. Theoretical work was initiated, and also daily political work. We were faced with several conclusions. First, we cannot shut ourselves off from the capitalist world. Second, cooperation within the socialist world system, mainly in CEMA but also outside it, is not at as high a level as necessary.

The third conclusion, which we have not yet come to a clear agreement on, although on the basis of our experiences in 1956 we had already initiated this, is that even within socialism, tensions can occur that may cause a counter-revolution. For instance, if there are fundamental differences between classes, or if these differences are great between the leadership and the masses, or if large imbalances occur in the economy--for example, between industry and agriculture--or if there is high inflation, if more money is issued than there are goods.

If politics is not capable of neutralizing all this through a general social agreement, than a counterrevolution can occur for internal reasons, and not just external ones. In other words, a counterrevolution does not have to be caused just by the enemy; we can even cause it ourselves.

[Question] Recently, in a speech in connection with the liberation of Budapest, you said that "we are all responsible for the 1950's." Who were you thinking of when you said "we"--your father and son as well?

[Answer] No, no. In the first place, the question is not phrased well. The question should read, "Whose work were the 1950's?" Not who began the crimes, but whose work those years were. That is the question. And here is the answer: the 1950's were our work. Both what was good and what was wrong. This was not the work of my 33-year-old son, but mine, since I was 20 years old then.

In 1956, I was 26 years old and I was a paid party worker, and consequently I can say that those years were our work, and not the work of my father. What is the political content of this answer? The political content of the answer is that we are accepting the results of the 11 years that passed between 1945 and 1956, and the mistakes of those years are also ours. And we are not permitting these things to be separated. History did not begin for the MSZMP in 1956, although its name has been in use since then, but rather on 4 April 1945. In the speech you mentioned, I wanted to point that out.

[Question] At the congress, many things were insisted upon, but that is also the practice in everyday party work, based on the people's confidence in the party. In view of the difficulties in past years, in this confidence still as strong, as do people believe in the party?

[Answer] They do. Not all of them. We have never had illusions, we have never thought, that everyone believed in the party. We do not have any illusions that everyone likes the party, either. But the masses, the masses who are authoritative, believe in this party and have confidence in it. This confidence applies to the direction of development, to the question of where we want to go, and what we intend to achieve. But major discussions are being conducted about how to do this.

Thus, confidence is very simple in regard to the direction of policy. As for the method, that is where opinions diverge, and all kinds of things are disputed--for example, whether small entrepreneurism is good, whether what we have is being divided well. Thus, the discussion is about the methods, but in regard to the main direction, there is complete confidence, the confidence of the majority, which is of decisive significance.

9909

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HUNGARY

STUDENT AID FOR SKILLED WORKER TRAINEES

Budapest OTLET in Hungarian 28 Feb 85 p 5

[Interview with Gyorgy Kerenyi, the assistant director of the Secondary School and Skilled Worker Trainee Council Secretariate of the KISZ CC: "250 Million Forints a Year for Stipends"]

[Text] An average increase in scholarships of 50% for students in vocational schools was announced along with the price and income policy measures which became effective at the beginning of February. We discussed this with Gyorgy Kerenyi, assistant director of the Secondary School and Skilled Worker Trainee Council Secretariate of the KISZ Central Committee.

[Question] Why did it become warranted and who initiated the modernization and modification of the vocational school students' scholarship system?

[Answer] I think there are very few things in Hungary today that have remained the same for roughly 30 years. One of these was the scholarship system of vocational school students with respect to its basic system and allotments. Compared to its original basic principles--i.e., to cover the main expenses associated with studying--it has been modified, but has essentially lost its motivational function. Its real value has declined significantly. In addition to its strict rigidity with respect to vocation and academic year, and the mechanical distribution system, it was also complicated. With the bonuses, it was almost incomprehensible. It did not allow for differentiation based on merit.

The first "official" formulation of all this was undertaken in the name of the students by the 10th KISZ Congress which, in its resolution, accepted the responsibility of representing this matter. The national student parliament and then the State Youth Committee recommended the introduction of its proposal. In the interim, time passed and we constantly observed in various forums on the basis of the KISZ organizations' signals that this is an urgent issue. Consequently, for years we have been contacting various affected organizations and directors with a whole series of proposals; "we kept the heat on". Thus, after difficult compromises and decisions, we succeeded in arriving at the 50% increase in the average amount, and the introduction of a new system.

[Question] In other words, KISZ assumed a serious responsibility in the formulation and enactment of this decision.



[Answer] We did not represent just the interests of a narrowly defined stratum of students. During the course of the discussion, we tried to convince everyone that the vocational student scholarships are a matter of societal importance, and which, in the long run, also represent high-yield interests. Our responsibility was also manifested in that we were aware the leadership was in a difficult position when we asked them to include this among the solvable issues on the agenda.

[Question] What may we expect from the new scholarship system?

[Answer] We expect an increase in the prestige of the vocational career and vocational training--in conjunction with other public education policy measures. This will also mean a new generation of more qualified workers. The more expansive differentiation provides an opportunity for direct motivation and attraction and the possibility for making greater demands. The development of the system of local distribution and the regular adjustments simultaneously represents democratic processes and forums. Naturally the good students--and this is not only synonymous with the excellent or very good students--those who steadily improve are better off and those who fail are worse off. Incidentally other students may demand the termination of their scholarships. In our opinion, if they are in need, they should be given more welfare benefits, but not to the detriment of the academic scholarships of tens of thousands of their schoolmates. However, they--that is, the failing students--will continue to receive the previous benefits based on subjective rights.

[Question] What opportunities will the schools, the school KISZ organizations, and the student body have to develop differentiated distribution systems suited to local requirements?

[Answer] According to the decree, every school will have predetermined funds allocated to it, based on the number of students, certain age groups and three vocational categories. Fundamentally divergent from the old system, the calculation of this amount is based on the sum of the averages provided by the broad "to-from" limits. The school directorship decides with the concurrence of the student KISZ and union on what basis and viewpoints it will distribute the available funds among the individual classes and groups, or rather, the individual students within these. We would like it if dynamic factors would also play a role in the local distributory formats which, for example, would even differentiate among students receiving identical averages with respect to improvement or decline. Thus, real effort and diligence could be reflected in the scholarships. We had serious discussions with the appropriate organizations before they accepted that only that scholarship system can motivate effectively, and also fulfill an educational role which the students themselves form and profess to be their own. This is at least as much in the interest of the school as it is of the KISZ.

[Question] How will the situation of the vocational school students be affected as a result? What social effects could we expect from the reorganization?

[Answer] The scholarships of the greatest percentage of students achieving satisfactory or better grades, or rather those making considerable improvements, will be increased by at least 50% or more. Besides the above detailed effects,



this will also significantly ease the burden of the families of the vocational school students. The majority of the parents do physical labor and this must be a primary consideration. In the near future, we may expect the review and modification of the entire student benefits and reimbursement system. A significant portion of the enterprises employing vocational school students already offer various benefits and discounts--we hope that the scope of these could be also expanded. During the past school year, the third-year students were already being paid skilled workers' wages, and further, the scholarship agreements were also extended. Along with the introduction of the new scholarship system, the definition of the sphere of the so-called difficult-to-train skills will also change in such a way that in a given time and place, it will truly be oriented toward and will aid in providing a new generation of workers. An old concern--the solution of which we will similarly initiate as the next phase based on the national economic outlook--is the dissolution of the limitations on the family allowance which affects the parents of the third-year and boarding vocational school students. We feel that the introduction of a new scholarship system with increased awards is an equally important change for students and parents, for schools and businesses alike.

[Question] What strata of students are affected by the measure and to what financial extent?

[Answer] Based on the decision of the political and state agencies, the new system will affect approximately 200 thousand students: three-year industrial and agricultural business school students, health care trainees and students attending vocational high schools aimed at skilled worker training. This is a significant amount of money, approximately 250 million forints, the amount of the increase. The payment of the increased scholarships will begin everywhere on February 1. The decree may be read in the latest issue of the "Cultural Bulletin".

9956

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POLAND

POLISH PRESS COMMENTS ON GORBACHEV PLENUM SPEECH

LD260904 Warsaw PAP in English 0720 GMT 26 Apr 85

[Press Review]

[Text] Warsaw, 26 Apr--In a commentary headlined "Continuity and Chance" ZYCIE WARSZAWY said Mikhail Gorbachev's speech at the latest CPSU CC full session "heralds necessary changes in the economy, approach to work, management and way of thinking.

"That comprehensive analysis of the situation and needs is followed by the main directions of Soviet politics.

"While implementing the policy of peaceful coexistence, the Soviet Union comes out for relations among states based on equal rights and respect for international law, also when the international situation is dangerous.

"The CPSU CC general secretary held the United States directly responsible for producing hotbeds of conflict. But in the belief that war can be prevented, the Soviet Union is ready to improve relations with the United States, to build a bridge of cooperation.

"Confrontation between the two states is not inevitable, but good will on both sides is needed to prevent it. Meanwhile, during the Geneva talks Washington has not demonstrated a will for an agreement with the USSR as Washington attempts to fight for itself a dominant military position in the world."

"Hoping that the United States will correct its position, Mikhail Gorbachev announced that the Soviet Union would in Geneva strive for agreements, which would not only put a halt to the arms race, but also usher in a disarmament process," noted ZYCIE WARSZAWY and summed up:

"This is a standpoint every more generally shared around the world, which needs progress- security for all the states and faith in a peaceful tomorrow."

The army daily ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI referred to that part of Mikhail Gorbachev's speech during the latest plenum of the CPSU CC in which he hailed the attainment of military-strategic parity vis a vis the states of the aggressive NATO bloc as an exceptionally important historic success for the fraternal socialist countries.

This parity, reiterated the daily, must be guarded by every means, because it checks the aggressive designs of imperialism. It must be guarded for the sake of peace. Such is the underlying idea of our community, which has for the past three decades earned for itself unequivocally and generally the name of the alliance for peace and guarantor of peace," wrote Zolnierz Wolnosci.

CSO: 2020/126

POLAND

## PARTY ACTIVITIES IN ARMED FORCES VIEWED

AU301423 Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 9, 24 Apr 85 pp 4-6

[Article by General of Arms Jozef Baryla, vice minister of national defense and head of the Main Political Administration of the Polish Armed Forces: "Features of Ideological Cohesiveness"]

[Excerpts] The Armed Forces have always treated the report-back campaign as a great event in party life and as an important element of stimulating the activities of party organizations and party members. The recent report-back campaign in the Armed Forces was exactly like that and was accorded high status, as attested to by the participation of the members of the party leadership and the Ministry of National Defense in all report-back conferences and, especially, by the presence of Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR first secretary and head of the Armed Forces, at the Warsaw Military District report-back conference and by his favorable evaluation of the performance of the military party organizations.

I think that the importance of party activities stems from the function of our army and from the party's leading position in the ranks of our army. The party spirit has always been expressed in the Armed Forces through service and work. In addition, the duties of party members who are soldiers have always placed them in the position of servants of the people.

This was confirmed by the course of the recent report-back campaign, whose party atmosphere, great ideological elan based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and sober proposals and demands make it possible to draw certain conclusions. The internal party debates did not omit anything that concerned the crucial issues of defense in the broad sense of the word. The mass of ideological, political, educational, training, cultural, economic, organizational, and technical elements enabled us to construe a comprehensive image of the party in the Armed Forces against the background of the entire party and the country.

The report-back campaign played the role of a typical yardstick of party achievements in our Armed Forces. This evaluation was based on three criteria so to speak: on a penetrating review of the ideopolitical and organizational efficiency of party collectives, on identification of the shortcomings and defects that hinder our development, and on a search for

solutions that facilitate the implementation of the party program on a nationwide scale. During this report-back campaign and when our past achievements were reviewed, the role of the party in the socialist army was also brought to the fore.

The old truth that "a party member is not merely an observer who does no more than to accept the party program, but is also a fighter" was confirmed during discussions that turned around the realities of the acute ideological battle between the systems. There is every reason to assume that this subject is one of the chief strands of party deliberations.

This is because life itself is proving that we continue to be witnesses of a class struggle, in which we all participate directly and indirectly. The Leninist thesis that the proletariat's assumption of political power does not put an end to class struggle continues to be valid. The only thing that happens is that the main thrust of this struggle changes direction. In Poland this struggle is taking place with varying intensity in the fields of ideology, politics, and economics on the international and domestic planes.

We are on the whole familiar with the facts. I think that what is important is to notice the changeability and stability of the individual stages of this struggle and to be thorough but moderate in evaluating it in order to prevent, say, unjustified euphoria from obscuring the true nature of this struggle.

In this fourth year of the implementation of the post-congress line of accord and struggle we are fully aware of this struggle's correctness and results. We can see with increasing clarity the fiasco of subversive pressure from without and we are increasingly certain that the antisocialist forces in Poland, which are in the process of degeneration, have neither a program nor larger numbers of adherents. History is working to our advantage, and it is only a question of time, social maturity, and civic political culture before the health stream of socialist renewal is finally consolidated.

It is not a matter of indifference to us that a small but vociferous section of the clergy actively participates in the political struggle against us. One task of these priests is to provide a typical screen for the motley crowd of the antisocialist forces. It was therefore natural that the party meetings declared their full support for our constitutional principles of religious policy in our socialist state. At the same time, these meetings expressed their intense opposition to the disloyal attitude of those priests toward people's power, especially to their intolerance and irresponsible politicking.

Destructive activities of the professional oppositionists, of those who "create" the "NO" slogans, as well as of social and criminal elements, which batten on our difficulties, are also part of the class struggle. Their attitudes and conduct have been "programmed" and are in conflict with socialist principles regarding customs and legality and with our moral norms. This amounts to perfidious stupidity, which is saturated with virulence toward our state and which is at times taken advantage of by the forces that use manipulation and harm Poland.

Recent years have supplied us with many proofs of the present political struggle, proofs such as the espionage work and degeneration of the foreign branches of the former Solidarity, Walesa's quixotic poses, Blumsztajn's "secret mission," and the provocative hunger strikes organized in churches by "eternal students" and professional oppositionists. These are only some examples of our political struggle.

That is why so many communists wearing military uniforms did raise the issue of improving our political weapons in this unceasing struggle and the issue of our militancy and effectiveness. What is important to have in mind is the kind of offensive launched by us that would counter our adversary's destructive manipulation by means of truth and vigilance, the pollution of people's awareness by means of political maturity, the negation of socialist achievements by means of credible facts, and our adversary's destabilizing activities by means of patriotic unity.

We are at the beginning of a difficult political season, but, strengthening the discipline with which we implement our tasks and tapping all performance reserves, we are capable of reliably fulfilling all the pledges we made during the report-back campaign. This conviction is backed by our experience and traditions.

The Polish People's Armed Forces have always been a mature, well organized, highly ideological, disciplined, and dutiful entity, whose function has been improved by the ideas of the party.

"Everywhere in our Armed Forces the party has always been equal to its tasks," PZPR First Secretary W. Jaruzelski said at the report-back conference of the Warsaw Military District. "History has prominently confirmed this, and the present times continue to confirm it."

CSO: 2600/780

POLAND

# PASSPORT CHIEF ON TRAVEL INCREASE, WEST'S VISA REFUSALS

LD021504 Warsaw PAP in English 1419 GMT 2 May 85

[Text] Warsaw, 2 May: Close to 3 million 297 thousand poles had travelled abroad in 1984, an increase of more than 1.5 million as compared to 1983, said the chief of the Passport Office at the Ministry of Internal Affairs Lt Col Wieslaw Gajowniczek in an interview for PAP, published today.

The number of visits to socialist countries has almost doubled. Polish citizens travelled mainly to Hungary (818 thousand persons), the GDR (669 thousand) and Czechoslovakia (428 thousand). The number of visits to Western countries, mainly to the FRG, Austria, Turkey, France and Italy has also increased, up to 745 thousand in 1984 (473.5 thousand in 1983).

Lt Col Gajowniczek said that at present there have to be not only legal but also factual grounds for turning [words indistinct] citizen's request to travel abroad.

So far, more than 600 thousand persons have received passports permitting multiple travels to European socialist countries--with the right of using them over the validity period of 5 years and with no obligation of depositing them in the Passport Office. The number of those passports are going to increase, said Lt Col Gajowniczek.

The chief of the Passport Office also said that Poles had encountered various obstacles when trying to obtain a visa to Western countries. More than 40 percent of Polish citizens who declared intentions to travel to the United States, and had already received passports, had their visa applications turned down. Consular offices of other Western countries had also refused visas to a considerable number of Polish citizens.

There are also cases when Polish citizens return home after being turned back by border officials in Western countries on the grounds that a visa obtained in Poland does not give its holder an absolute right to enter that country, said Lt Col Gajowniczek.

CSO: 2020/126

POLAND

PZPR'S BEDNARSKI WRITES ON SIGNIFICANCE OF MAY DAY

LD051848 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1100 GMT 5 May 85

[Text] In an article in the weekly ARGUMENTY, Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee Henryk Bednarski writes that May Day this year is a special occasion; a moment, so to speak, encompassing much that is exceptionally important. The crisis in our country, despite objective difficulties in the sphere of material well-being and public awareness, is being slowly but consistently overcome. Those people, who because of their disappointed political hopes, accuse the party and the working class of being slow to solve our problems, are not right. The size of production does not depend on impatient words or expectations, but on persistent, well-organized work by the whole of society.

Regardless, however, of the many difficulties, we have achieved considerable work in this time. The shop shelves have begun to fill; the national income has regained a growth trend. Our foreign creditors from the West perceive this upward movement. All this means that the recreation of our economic links on an equal basis with many capitalist states is becoming realistic.

Last year saw developments in the process of strengthening the bonds between party and state and society; the regaining of sociopolitical stability and an increase in the sense of patriotic duty by the citizen toward the country. This process was frustrated neither by the provocative political events in Poland nor by the calls from antisocialist subversive centers.

Despite the accusations of imperialist agencies, Poland is a law-abiding state. It is also a country which is stabilizing its sociopolitical and economic life. So, a positive process is being effected in our country, as a result of the consistent implementation of the line of the ninth congress; a line of struggle, accord and socialist reforms. This year's May Day is therefore a particular opportunity for support for this program, for PZPR policy.

Poland occupies an important place in the historic changes which have taken place to date, especially in Europe. Our contribution to stabilization and a peaceful order on this continent; our peace initiatives, among other things the idea of non-nuclear zones, are a step forward in the cause of strengthening peace. But, just as Poland's contribution to victory brought us freedom,



so Poland's participation in the defense system of the Warsaw Pact was, and is, an important factor curbing the forces of retaliation and imperialist aggression. The 40th anniversary of the Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Aid between Poland and the USSR recalls and at the same time guarantees the permanence of mutually beneficial links. It is a document of immense significance. In the difficult postwar moments, when we were rebuilding the country and during the critical drop in economic capacity, after the wave of strikes called by counterrevolutionary forces, help from the Soviet Union enabled our nation to regain strength and to rebuild production and economic order, destroyed by the United States' restrictions.

Just as the treaty of friendship was a factor guaranteeing the possibilities of bilateral cooperation, so the Warsaw Pact, concluded 30 years ago, became, on the military and political plane, the guarantee of the inviolability and security of our frontiers. Created in response to the organization of NATO by the Americans, it was a forced way of safeguarding the interests of the socialist states against aggression. But as long as the policy of anti-communist crusade and imperialist strivings of the United States and its allies, desiring to destroy the post-Yalta political order in Europe and halt the revolutionary process in the world, continues the Warsaw Pact must remain. Our capital, symbol of the sacrifices and victory over the forces of Hitlerite fascism, was not chosen fortuitously as the place for the signing of this defense agreement. The extension of the validity of the treaty is not only necessary, but at the same time essential. A combined military strength and the potential of economic, social and ideopolitical forces in harmony with each other; the patriotism and internationalism linking our nations, is the guarantee of our joint interests, stressed Henryk Bednarski.

CSO: 2600/781

POLAND

ANTISOCIAL BEHAVIOR THESES PRESENTED TO SEJM

AU031241 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Apr 85 p 2

[PAP report: "Information on Implementation of Some Laws on Preventing Antisocial Behavior"--presented to the 29 April session of the Sejm in Warsaw by Minister of Justice L. Domeracki]

[Text] Various features of antisocial behavior were especially glaring in 1980-81. The crisis that affected all areas of our life was caused not only by economic reasons. It was also rooted in the fact that our system of social values was shaken as a result of the errors of the social and economic policy in the seventies.

--It was natural for society in a deepening crisis to demand more effective measures against alcoholism, refusals to work and study, the corrupting of the morals of children and youngsters, and drug addiction, which were responsible for increased criminality.

--We have been able to check a violent increase in alcohol consumption, to change this consumption in favor of low-potency alcohol, and to reduce the number of alcohol-selling shops.

--In line with the law, we have set up the fund for antialcoholic measures. The Z6.3 billion of this fund have been used mainly to expand medical treatment for alcoholics, social assistance homes, educational and health activities, care centers, assistance for alcoholics and their dependents, and activities of the local commissions for the prevention of alcoholism.

--In 1984 the number of court decisions on medical treatment for alcoholics was doubled. The effectiveness of the implementation of these decisions by medical centers was increased.

--The court convicted almost 1,800 persons in line with the laws banning sales and consumption of alcohol in specific cases. The punishment was mostly in the form of fines, but their amount was out of tune with the social harm of such offenses.

--In line with the data available on 31 December 1984, 78,914 persons were registered as not working anywhere. About 60 percent of these persons have

taken up jobs in the socialized economy. In the past 2 years almost 38,000 of these persons were taken off the register because they have been employed for over 6 months. At the same time, 4,574 men have been registered as stubbornly refusing to work.

--Lay courts for minor offenses and regular courts also pronounced punishment provided for by the law, and last year punished over 1,000 persons for failure to answer the summons of an administrative body and to work for the benefit of public projects.

--Experience shows that it is necessary to commit enterprises and social organizations more extensively to the struggle against parasitism, to simplify procedures by which persons refusing to work can be identified, and to tighten the execution of the law in question, which will be modified.

--The implementation of the law on proceedings against juveniles has been satisfactory. Some 26,000 juvenile cases were addressed to family courts in 1984.

--The judicial standards of family courts have improved, and parents are being held responsible with increasing frequency for making good the damage caused by their juvenile offspring and for bettering their educational and living conditions.

--The network of parental consultative centers has increased and the base of the supervisor centers of work with young people has expanded. A new system of assistance for young people who are released from corrective centers, return to their homes, or start on independent careers is now in operation under the supervision of the Council for Assistance for Juveniles.

--The practical functioning of the law in question has revealed some defects caused by shortages in personnel and premises and by insufficient vacancies in corrective and medical centers. The recorded cases of negligence in the corrective base, which reduced the effectiveness of various measures, are being gradually eliminated.

--This information confirms that the laws in question have been implemented to a high degree and that the state bodies committed to fulfilling various legal decisions continue to make great efforts. It also shows up various specific defects in the implementation of these laws and indicates that not all legal measures taken against antisocial behavior have been fully implemented. Some of these measures have proved to be unsuitable, and this is why they are being improved.

--In line with its overall policy aimed at stabilizing the sociopolitical situation and improving economic mechanisms, the government regards the struggle against antisocial behavior as one of its priority tasks.

CSO: 2600/781

7 June 1985

POLAND

## EPISCOPATE HOLDS PLENARY CONFERENCE IN JASNA GORA

LD050148 Vatican City International Service in Polish 1800 GMT 4 May 85

[Excerpts] On the occasion of the festivities of Our Lady the Queen of Poland, the patroness of the homeland, this year the Polish bishops have again assembled in the national Marian shrine at Jasna Gora and have held the 206th plenary conference of the episcopate here. The session began on 2 May, under the chairmanship of Cardinal Jozef Glemp, the primate of Poland, and lasted until 4 May. On 3 May all the bishops took part in the ceremonies of homage to the most Holy Mother. The session provided an opportunity for the expression of joy over the elevation to the position of cardinal of Archbishop Henryk Gulbinowicz, the metropolitan of Wroclaw, and Archbishop Andrzej Maris Deskur. During the session the bishops voiced their particular reverence and love for the Holy Father, John Paul II, and discussed the social and religious situation in our country and the current pastoral tasks for the church that follow from it.

The 4th anniversary of the dramatic events on St Peter's Square in Rome is drawing near. On 13 May 1981 criminal shots struck the Holy Father John Paul II and awoke suffering throughout the world. To this day the source of inspiration for this criminal attempt remains unclear. There can be no doubt nevertheless that hatred of the steadfast advocate of faith and morality was at work. From its very inception the pontificate of the current pope has displayed a profound concern for the dignity and rights of the human person, a defense of individuals and social, ethnic and national groups against underprivilege and poverty, against discrimination of all kinds, against various forms of political servitude.

Concerned for purity of the faith and the principles of morality, including those of the social teaching of the church, the Holy Father opposes with all resolution and consistency the infiltration of the teaching and practices in life of the Catholic community by alien doctrines, which subordinate the rights and the interests of man to ideological systems. These alien doctrines distort the Gospel. Although the pope teaches that man can build a world without God, such a world will turn against man in the end. The pope also states that in the name of motives of ostensible justice other people are repeatedly destroyed, killed, deprived of their liberty, and divested of their elementary rights. In various parts of the world there is no shortage of whole stretches of poverty, deprivation and underdevelopment. Torture

applied with impunity still exists in the world. Here the Holy Father teaches the moral responsibility of every man for the sins of society, since at the same time these represent the fruit, an accumulation and collection, of a large number of private sins, including passivity and laziness, fear and indifference. Social relations will not be changed however by a message of hatred. Thus the obstinate setting of blocs of states against other blocs, of one nation against another, of groups against other groups within the same nation, is a social evil. The Christian road to renewal is the way of the civilization of love.

In the modern world, a characteristic feature of which is rivalry between opposed systems, the Polish bishops go on to write, the teaching of the pope is a demanding one. Four years ago, therefore, an attempt on the life of the Holy Father was made. In the present, meanwhile, aversion, hostility and even hatred of the pope are manifest in attacks on his person, despite the enormous esteem aroused throughout the world by the current pontificate. It is not without significance that this applies to the person of a pope who is the first Slav and Pole to be pope, which irritates certain people. Of late attacks of this kind have also been appearing in the Polish mass media too, translated from foreign languages or edited here in Poland.

The Polish people are aware of what the Holy Father John Paul II means to Poland. During a difficult period in our history we seek succor in the teachings contained in the homilies delivered during the pope's two pilgrimages to our shared homeland. We draw hope from the words of the Holy Father at the 10th Anniversary Stadium in Warsaw: The Christian is called in Christ Jesus to victory. The call continually goes out from Jasna Gora not to submit to defeat but to seek ways to victory. Thus attacks on the person of John Paul II are all the more painfully felt in our country. They can only cause internal divisions within the public. Thus all Poles who sincerely hold the unity of the nation dear feel an even greater duty to stand by the Holy Father John Paul II, extending esteem and ardent prayer toward him.

The Polish bishops call on everyone to join in prayers on 13 May for the pope in the churches and their homes. The Holy Father calls on the whole church to extend pastoral care to the young this year. He has done so in connection with the program of the United Nations. The bishops call on priests to set up programs for the pastoral care of the young on the basis of the letter of the pope of the Thursday of Easter week. They call on parents, educators, the teaching clergy and priests to respond together with the young to the Holy Father's letter to the young of the whole world as a program for the training of the younger generation to assume responsibility for the future.

The bishops express all friendship for the Polish young and voice their profound concern for them, in the face of all the threats that exist. The bishops voice their esteem for the ecclesiastical youth movements, which have already established their own position among us.

Bishop James Malone, chairman of the Episcopal Conference of the United States, took part for the first time in the plenary session of the Polish Episcopate. In his speech on Jasna Gora mount and during the proceedings Bishop Malone stressed that the churches in Poland and in the United States are linked by an ardent worship of the most Holy Mother, while the Jasna Gora Image of the Queen of Poland is widely known on the far side of the ocean. He went on to say that cooperation also exists and is being developed between the episcopates of the two countries, that the contribution made by Poles to the independence and development of the United States is well-known and the pastoral work of priests who have come from Poland is respected. He gave an assurance that Polish emigres would benefit from the care of the church. In conclusion, Bishop Malone stated: The second issue I will touch on is the plan for an Agricultural Foundation. You can count on our full support in this enterprise. We are well aware that it is a matter of the daily bread of every person in this country. I am glad that so many countries and Episcopal conferences are participating in the project.

The Polish bishops received these words with gratitude.

An important social problem is evangelic care for the poor. There is a broad structure of people in our country in need of material aid and assistance in difficult situations in life. We are grateful for the aid received so far from abroad and realize that it cannot continue for too long, bearing in mind the disasters prevailing in various parts of the world. Charitable acts are thus particularly needed in our country at present. That is why the bishops call on all those who can afford it to generously direct funds and gifts to the places appointed by the diocesan bishops and to willingly make their services available to all those in need of assistance.

The bishops heard that between 1 and 8 June the coordinating committee of the mixed commission for theological dialogue between the Roman Catholic and Orthodox Churches will meet in Opole. The session will have as its aim the drawing up of a joint preliminary document on the sacrament of the priesthood in relation to the Apostolic succession. The bishops state that at present it is particularly important that esteem and trust be extended to priests and that they meet with cooperation in the fulfillment of their mission. Such is the age-old tradition of Christianity in our homeland. The bishops will also always defend the unity of priests in their fulfillment of their mission in the church.

The bishops acquainted themselves with the progress of work in the individual commissions of the episcopate and heard a report by Bishop Szczepan Wesoly on pastoral work among Poles living in emigration.

At the end of the session the bishops decided to hold the next plenary conference in Szczecin on 21 and 22 June this year, and to take part in ecclesiastical ceremonies on Sunday, 23 June, in Szczecin Cathedral to mark the 40th anniversary of the establishment of Polish ecclesiastical administration in the western and northern territories.

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POLAND

ACADEMIC EXPLAINS INTELLIGENTSIA'S 'FRUSTRATIONS'

PM011159 Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 12 Apr 85 p 3

[Interview with Prof Maria Tyszkowa, head of Developmental and Education Psychology Unit at Poznan University Institute of Psychology, by Zygmunt Rola; date and place not given]

[Text] [Rola] The question of why a considerable proportion of Polish intelligentsia behaved in an irrational way at the beginning of the 1980's has often been repeated since those memorable events. Immediately after the introduction of martial law Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski put this question to the intellectuals. Do you think that it also has to be repeated today, before the "intelligentsia-oriented" PZPR Central Committee plenum?

[Tyszkowa] It does. But first of all let us state that a return to irrational modes of behavior is noticeable throughout the entire society, and not just in Poland alone, either. Evidence of it is found, for example, in people's heightened interest in horoscopes, prophecies, and "miraculous" cures. This kind of behavior is a specific reaction to difficult situations which we are often unable to handle. Many members of the Polish intelligentsia behave irrationally also in the sphere of social and political issues, formulating--in our difficult circumstances--the sorts of goals (and ways of attaining them) which are incompatible with the harsh reality. And so the question you quoted should be also asked today, so that we can define the social, moral, and psychological condition of our intelligentsia and the role it should be fulfilling in our society today. Such diagnosis is necessary if we are to rectify the situation of that particular group and make it more realistic.

[Rola] Do you often encounter criticism directed against our intelligentsia?

[Tyszkowa] When I do, it is in various publications, or in debates taking place among people who are outside that group. To give you an example, I have heard workers and peasants--and my own origins are among the latter--complain that we did not progress as far as we could have done in our post-war development. They ask: How have you been running things to get us into this crisis? We also get complaints from dissident circles, which criticize the standard of our expert analyses and accuse us of failing to fulfill our tasks and adopting irrational attitudes. The intelligentsia has become a kind of a whipping boy.



[Rola] But someone also said--albeit in an excessively bombastic manner--that to have grievances against the intelligentsia is to attack those who are as essential to society's existence as the brain is to a living body.

[Tyszkowa] It is surely above discussion that the intelligentsia is an indispensable element in any normally functioning society. The question is how it discharges that important role.

[Rola] In that case what are the reasons, in your opinion, Professor, for the intelligentsia's failure to meet that duty, for its irrational social and political behavior?

[Tyszkowa] We should rather be asking for the reasons behind its frustration and its irrational attitudes. I would list three reasons. First of all, the intelligentsia lives and works in the world of symbolic culture, and--as we know--symbols are not necessarily rational. Moreover, the results of its activity do not become obviously tangible straight away: often it takes many years, in the process--as I call it--of repeated averaging, from the creation of certain ideas to a transformation of human behavior or of reality, either in the social or material aspect. All this fosters a sense of small social usefulness and fails to offer the types of immediate satisfaction that is so necessary for human beings to experience. Consequently, a sense of special mission arises by way of compensation. The third source of frustration rests in economic pauperization, or low material standards.

[Rola] Presumably you also observe disturbances in the function which the intelligentsia performs in relation to history?

[Tyszkowa] The intelligentsia extensively assimilates and transforms society's cultural achievement, creating new cultural values in the process. Unfortunately after the revolutionary transformations which took place at the beginning of these last 40 postwar years, the heritage passed to us by the earlier generations was never reevaluated and adopted to meet the needs of a society operating under socialist conditions, in circumstances reflecting the changing civilization of our day and age. I believe that that was an important function of our intelligentsia. I also believe that the failure to discharge that function is one of the reasons behind the complaints directed at the intelligentsia now. The sense of having failed to discharge that function is, in turn, the reason why there is a growing feeling among the intelligentsia of its small usefulness and inadequate value, as well as that of being undervalued by other social groups. But at the same time it is becoming more and more apparent that the interests and concerns of certain circles of our intelligentsia, as well as their attitudes--originating in Polish romanticism--are out of step with the requirements of our times. If we restrict ourselves to gazing solely into our past, we--as a nation--will fail to meet the challenge of our present.

[Rola] You said that the drop in prestige is also a consequence of economic pauperization...



[Tyszkowa] Material conditions are a factor which causes further despondency, apathy, and inaction. It intensifies the frustration pervading these circles. There is a lingering myth perpetrated within our society about a particularly advantageous, not to say privileged, material position of our intelligentsia, and within it especially the professoriat. Reality long ago proved that myth incorrect. Since the war that particular group has never been particularly favored, and during the crisis it lost more than others. While in the early 1970's a newly nominated assistant professor's monthly salary was more than twice as high as the average national wage, today a professor's salary is not very much higher than the national average, whereas an assistant professor's salary equals the national average, or is maybe even slightly lower. This causes understandable bitterness. In the years 1983-1984 real pay in the academic group fell by an average of 35 percent, and within it the salaries of professors and assistant professors fell by more than 60 percent. Today the decline has even reached as much as 70 percent. The crisis causes a reduction in subsidies for science and culture. As a result, the intelligentsia's tools of the trade become impoverished and obsolete. I am thinking here of such things as, for example, the condition of our laboratories and libraries. That also reduces the work productivity of this social group, thus adding to its frustrations. Moreover, through feedback, it offers justification for the low remuneration.

[Rola] But intellectual work is by no means unproductive...

[Tyszkowa] The point is not only that the intelligentsia is rapidly becoming pauperized. It regards its deteriorating material circumstances as a symbolic expression of the way the public and the authorities assess its work--and that, naturally, does not encourage any greater effort. And yet the intelligentsia has its share not only in making means of production, but also--from nursery school teachers to academic teachers--in "producing" human beings for society and "producing" their qualifications as an important element of their production capacities. Unfortunately, no one has as yet calculated the amount of effort necessary to bring up a child from infancy until it becomes a valued member of society. And that is precisely the value of the work of many sectors of the intelligentsia. It is, therefore, necessary to break that chain of negative feedback effects.

[Rola] How can we bring that about? How are we to assist the intelligentsia in opening itself to the current problems facing the nation and the state? What do you expect of the 19th plenum?

[Tyszkowa] I expect the 19th PZPR Central Committee Plenum to analyze problems relevant to the social stratum in question in a way which could make us understand better its capabilities and its tasks, and which could help us perceive its place in society in a different light. I expect it to initiate the kind of thinking that could help disperse various myths and incorrect opinions about the intelligentsia. I also expect it to institute activities that could help increase the productivity of the intelligentsia's work.

[Rola] Can the intelligentsia be won over only through being given a solid material base of existence? The year 1980 demonstrated that, just like the workers, it made other demands apart from the economic ones...

[Tyszkowa] Material needs are only one element of what human beings require to be able to function. Other concerns involve the creation of better conditions for the intelligentsia to carry out its creative tasks and discharge its social functions, to develop its sense of nonsubordinate status and high living standard in all its aspects.

[Rola] Thank you for the interview.

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POLAND

BRIEFS

COOPERATION WITH ---On 27 April, a program for Polish-Tunisian cultural and scientific cooperation for 1985-87 was signed in Warsaw. The program provides for a continuation of cooperation and exchanges in university training, education, culture, art, mass media, health, sports and visits of young people. J. Kinast, vice minister of foreign affairs, received R. Thanin [spelling as received], chairman of the Tunisian delegation and head of the department for bilateral relations. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Apr 85 p 2 AU]

INTERNAL SECURITY CORPS ANNIVERSARY--A popular scientific conference to mark the 40th anniversary of the Internal Security Corps--the Vistula units of the Corps--was held in Warsaw on 27 April and was attended by General of Brigade Eward Tarala, general director and head of the Ministry of Internal Affairs troops. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Apr 85 p 4 AU]

BARCIKOWSKI DECORATES BANNER--Kazimierz Barcikowski, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, has decorated the banner of the crane plant in Minsk Mazowiecki with the Labor Banner Order, Second Class. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Apr 85 p 4 AU]

PORESBSKI AT CC SESSION--On 29 April, Tadeusz Porebski, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, chaired the session of the Central Committee Science and Education Commission, devoted to the theses to be presented at the coming Central Committee plenum on the lines of improving and developing the system of national education. [Summary] [Warsaw LTRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Apr-1 May 85 p 3 AU]

CZYREK RECEIVES YOUTH LEADERS--On 29 April, Jozef Czyrek, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, received chairmen of the delegations of the youth organizations from the European socialist countries to the fourth congress of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Apr-1 May 85 p 4 AU]

OLSZOWSKI ATTENDS ANNIVERSARY SESSION--On 29 April, Stefan Olszowski, PZPR Politburo member and foreign minister, attended the scientific session at the Warsaw House of Soviet Science and Culture, devoted to the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitlerite fascism and Japanese militarism. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Apr-1 May 85 p 4 AU]

ORZECZOWSKI, BEDNARSKI MEET DELEGATION--On 29 April, Marian Orzechowski, PZPR Politburo candidate member, and Henryk Bednarski, PZPR Central Committee secretary, met with a delegation of the SED Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences led by Rector Otto Reinhold. "Marian Orzechowski and Otto Reinhold signed a new accord of cooperation between the PZPR and SED academies of Social Sciences, which provides for joint research, exchanges of scientists, and collaboration between libraries and scientific information centers." [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Apr-1 May 85 p 4 AU]

SIWAK AT WARSAW PLANT--On 29 April, PZPR Politburo Member Albin Siwak, addressed workers of the Warszawa metal rolling plant on the country's socio-economic situation and stressed that a "[word indistinct] outflow of workers from building trades to other branches and sectors of the economy is a crucial reason why it is difficult to ease housing hardships." [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Apr-1 May 85 p 4 AU]

POLISH-ROMANIAN TOURIST AGREEMENT--Ion Stanescu, Romanian minister of tourism, visited Poland from 15 to 19 April at the invitation of the Main Committee for Tourism. Cooperation to date in tourism was discussed, as well as cooperation plans for 1985 and beyond. J. Cisowski, chairman of the committee, and Minister Stanescu signed an agreement on the development of cooperation for 1986-90. Minister Stanescu was also received by Deputy Premier Zenon Komender and held talks with S. Dlugosz, deputy chairman of the Planning Commission, and W. Gwiazda, under secretary of state for foreign trade. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Apr 85 p 7 AU]

CPSU CULTURAL DELEGATION--A delegation from the CPSU CC Culture Department headed by Zoya Tumanova, first deputy director of the department, visited Poland as part of the Day of Soviet Culture in Poland. It acquainted itself with party work among artistic milieus and problems with our cultural life. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Apr 85 p 5 AU]

MESSNER RECEIVES ROMANIA'S PUNGAN--On 23 April, Z. Messner, PZPR Politburo member and vice premier, received Vasile Pungan, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, and discussed with him Polish-Romanian trade cooperation. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Apr 85 p 2 AU]

KUBIAK, MICHALEK IN KRAKOW--PZPR Politburo Member Hieronim Kubiak and Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek attended on 24 April the plenum of the Krakow Voivodship party organization devoted to party and social-production tasks in development of the Krakow food industry and agriculture. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Apr 85 p 2 AU]

BEJGER ATTENDS LENIN FETE--On 25 April, PZPR Politburo Member Stanislaw Bejger attended the Gdansk function to mark the 115th birthday of V. I. Lenin and the 40th anniversary of Polish-Soviet friendship treaty. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Apr 85 p 2 AU]

SIWAK AT OSTROLEKA PLENUM--PZPR Politburo Member Albin Siwak attended the 25 April plenum of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Ostroleka devoted to tasks stemming from the Ninth Central Committee Plenum for party organizations in strengthening social justice. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Apr 85 p 2 AU]

ORZECZOWSKI, POLISH-SOVIET MEETING--PZPR Politburo Candidate Member Marian Orzechowski met with participants of the 22-25 April Polish-Soviet round-table meeting "The Scientific View of the World and Socialist Awareness Vis-a-vis Religion." [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Apr 85 p 5 AU]

MICHALEK ATTENDS PILA MEETING--PZPR Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek attended the 26 April plenum of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Pila devoted to party work in rural areas. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27-28 Apr 85 p 4 AU]

CSO: 2600/783

ROMANIA

PEOPLES COUNCILS APPOINTMENTS, REMOVALS REPORTED

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 22, 30 Apr 85 p 3

[Presidential Decree on Some Removals and Appointments]

[Text] On the basis of Article 55, paragraph 2 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples councils, the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article 1--Comrade Cornel Stanciu is relieved of his position as secretary of the executive committee of the Alba County Peoples Council.

Article 2--Comrade Nicolae Butan is appointed secretary of the executive committee of the Alba County Peoples Council.

Article 3--Comrade Severin Zofota is appointed secretary of the executive committee of the Botosani County Peoples Council.

Article 4--Comrade Gheorghe Duma is relieved of his position as secretary of the executive committee of the Constanta County Peoples Council.

Article 5--Comrade Dan-Iulian Dragan is appointed secretary of the executive committee of the Constanta County Peoples Council.

Article 6--Comrade Mariana Iugulescu (Storeescu) is appointed secretary of the executive committee of the Dimbovita County Peoples Council.

Article 7--Comrade Aurel Scortaru is relieved of his position as secretary of the executive committee of the Galati County Peoples Council.

Article 8--Comrade Benone Pusca is appointed secretary of the executive committee of the Galati County Peoples Council.

Article 9--Comrade Mihai Chis is relieved of his position as secretary of the executive committee of the Salaj County Peoples Council.

Article 10--Comrade Dan-Tiberiu Puscas is appointed secretary of the executive committee of the Salaj County Peoples Council.

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU,  
President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 24 April 1985  
No 66

BRIEFS

RETIREMENT OF OFFICIAL--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Stefan Kiss is relieved of his position as state secretary in the Central Council for Worker Control of Economic and Social Activity in light of his retirement. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 15, 23 Mar 85 p 2]

CSO: 2700/153

7 June 1985

## YUGOSLAVIA

## LEADERS GRANT INTERVIEWS FOR MAY DAY

AU121826

[Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 3 May devotes page 2 to "excerpts from interviews in May Day issues which include an 1,100-word excerpt from an interview granted by Vidoje Zarkovic to VECERNJE NOVOSTI, a 400-word excerpt from an interview granted by Hamdija Pozderac to Banjaluka GLAS, and a 700-word excerpt from an interview granted by Andrej Marinc to TELEKS.

Vidoje Zarkovic in his interview reviews the 40 years of socialist Yugoslavia which "has grown into a strong socialist self-managing community of equal peoples and nationalities and gained tremendous international prestige and friends among all the peoples of the world." Zarkovic stresses the importance of unity as "the first and basic prerequisite for LC action." "In particular, a vanguard organization such as the LC cannot lead the masses to the realization of a long-term vision of social development unless it itself is united in perceiving this vision.

"We must resolutely oppose public statements by individuals regardless of their office, statements which distort positions of the LCY and of the forums to whom these individuals belong and which thus bring errors, confusion, and dissatisfaction to society. LC members, regardless of the office they hold, must bear responsibility for every tendentious and incorrect interpretation of the positions and policy of the LC, as well as for unprinciples confrontations which open the way to groups and to factionalism.

"Of course, one should not equate with this the differences in statements by individual leaders on questions about which the LC has opened a debate with the aim of arriving at stands on these questions through a democratic way, by collective wisdom," Zarkovic says.

Stance Dolanc in his interview speaks about Tito, who "always thought in his own way. Tito thought of socialism, proper and personal, with the face of the people of this country." "Unity on the line of thought that socialist self-management is a stage of the struggle for communism is, however, the condition for our action to be revolutionary today and tomorrow in Tito's way," Dolanc says.



Hamdija Pozderac declares: "No hullabaloo about the leaderships will solve matters by itself. Even apart from this party debate, there have been in these 4 or 5 years since Tito's death many accusations against leaderships and leaders, politicians, and leading people who work professionally in the communes, associations, constitutional courts, and sociopolitical and social organizations from the commune up to the federation. Are they really a privileged caste, responsible for all the evil, and omnipotent?

"We should actually clarify who, in fact, indulges in politics," Pozderac says, and states that all 2,050,000 LC members and several million people in the self-managing delegate system should be involved in politics. "One cannot maintain the assessment that there is a righteous membership and a sinful leadership, that the members with their consciousness have allegedly surpassed the leadership, that there is disunity only in the leadership and not among the members. In this way I do not wish to diminish the justifiability of the criticism of the leaderships and of leading in the widest sense of the word," Pozderac says.

Andrej Marinc in his interview talks about "the higher level of unity" attained at the 16th LCY Central Committee plenum. "For relations between the LCY Central Committee and parts of the LCY that represent the republican and provincial organizations and their leaderships, it is essential that we realize the Program and the Statue of the LCY which constitute a foundation of ideological and action unity of the LCY. It is irresponsible to assess that members of the central leadership are nothing but delegates possessing an imperative mandate and representatives of the republican and provincial leaderships," Marinc says.

CSO: 2800/327

7 June 1985

## YUGOSLAVIA

## KOSOVO INTERIOR SECRETARY ON SECURITY WORK

LD131917 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1518  
GMT 13 May 85

[Text] Pristina--In his interview with the Pristina RILINDIJA given in connection with Security Day, Rahman Morina, Kosovo provincial secretary of internal affairs, said that political crime in Kosovo was abating but that the enemy, especially that acting from positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism, keeps on trying to keep up its activity. Incurbing this kind of crime the internal affairs organs have been displaying a high level of efficiency and it is rare for a case to remain unsolved or for long delays in solving it.

Morina stressed that security organs in Kosovo are achieving better and better results in uncovering and suppressing economic crime. As an example he mentioned the discovery of major machinations such as silver thefts in Trepca and embezzlement in Agrokosov and Eksimkos.

The provincial secretary also said that the political security situation in Kosovo was more stable and that it is characterized by a further gradual stabilization. In addition to enemy irredentists' activity, it is weighed down by other problems--unemployment, lower living standards, emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, and other difficulties and shortcomings.

He said that there was no scope for lack of confidence in this province's security services and organs because by constant involvement, activity, selfless work, responsibility, and self-denial they had attained such successes as to have eliminated any possible doubts about them.

In this connection, and replying to the question on the doubts present in connection with the "Martinovic case" in Gnjlane, Morina said the following:

"The statement on this case is based on the facts verified by the organs and institutions mentioned in it. If the facts were not verified we would not have issued the statement. We also believe that there is no need for further facts. Objectively speaking there is no room for any doubts in view of the fact that the person who committed the acts was Djordje Martinovic himself."

CSO: 2800/327

YUGOSLAVIA

OFFICIALS VISIT INTERIOR SECRETARIAT ON SECURITY DAY

LD131713 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1337 GMT  
13 May 85

[Excerpt] In connection with 13 May--Yugoslav Security Day--the Federal Secretariat of Internal Affairs was visited today by the delegations of the SAWPY Federal Conference led by Marjan Rozic; of the Federal Secretariat of National Defense led by Admiral of the Fleet Branko Mamula; of the Federal Secretariat of Foreign Affairs led by Raif Dizdarevic; of the SFRY Assembly led by Momcilo Trajkovic, chairman of the Committee for Internal Policy of the assembly's Federal Chamber; of the Federal Customs Administration led by Zvonko Poscic; and also by Stojan Djuranovic, president of the Federal Court; Milos Bakic, federal public prosecutor; by the delegations of the committees of the LC basic organizations in the federal organs and organizations led by Stanislaw Stojanovic; and by a delegation of the Savski Venac municipal assembly.

When congratulating Federal Secretary Dobroslav Culafic and his associates on the holiday and through them also all members of the internal affairs organs in the country, the prominent officials of the federal organs and organizations, among other things, stressed the great contribution which the members of the organs of internal affairs had made during the past 40 years of our development in freedom. The results which the internal affairs organs are having now are also very significant, stressed the members of the delegation, and wished them further successes in their work.

Giving thanks for the congratulations, Federal Secretary Dobroslav Culafic once again recalled that Yugoslav Security Day is a very important date of our revolution and that it is of general significance because it is also the holiday of all the factors of our social self-protection system. [passage omitted]

CSO: 2800/327

YUGOSLAVIA

TANJUG REPORTS MAMULA SECURITY DAY MESSAGE

LD121759 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1050 GMT  
12 May 85

[Text] Belgrade 12 May (TANJUG)--In connection with the 41st anniversary of the SFRY security organs and services, Admiral of the Fleet Branko Mamula, federal secretary of national defense, has addressed to the security service members of the SFRY Armed Forces his cordial felicitations and comradely greetings. The message of congratulations says:

"We are observing Security Day this year against the background of the observance of important anniversaries--40th anniversary of liberation of our country and victory over fascism. We can say with pride that the contribution made to this victory by the security organs and services who during the national liberation war and socialist revolution carried out the tasks placed before them by the Yugoslav Communist Party and Comrade Tito is very significant.

"During the entire period of the post-war development of our Armed Forces and of our country as a whole, as well as in the present complex military-political situation in the world and at a time when our society is confronting economic and social problems and difficulties and intensified pressure and activities of outside and internal enemy, you responsibly and successfully carried out your tasks, and, together with other self-protection factors in our armed forces and in cooperation with security services, you successfully frustrated all the attempts and activities by outside and internal enemy against our Armed Forces.

"We are convinced that the intelligence-security organs of our armed forces will go on persistently and successfully carrying out their tasks and together with other self-protection factors frustrate any attempt by outside and internal enemy to weaken the moral-political unity, security and combat readiness of the army and of the armed forces as a whole. This calls for an even more intensive work during the period ahead on the ideo-political uplifting and professional

training and promotion of learning and education so that together with further technical modernization you will be capable as much as possible to carry out your tasks in the protection of our armed forces and security and independence of SFRY.

"In congratulating you on 13 May--Security Day--I wish you fresh successes in your work and the implementation of all your tasks."

CSO: 2800/327

7 June 1985

## YUGOSLAVIA

## TANJUG NOTES ANNIVERSARY OF SECURITY SERVICE'S FOUNDING

LD131230 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1227 GMT 13 May 85

[Article by Ruzica Petrovic]

[Text] Yugoslavia is among the world's most peaceful, most secure, and most open countries, partly because of the irrevocably successful performance of its security service which today marks the 41st year since foundation.

Instituted on Tito's decree in wartime, on 13 May 1944, as the Department for the Protection of the People (OZNA), the Yugoslav security service today is capable of combating the most up-to-date forms of hostile activity thanks to the highly-specialized levels of its staff and technology.

In all the past decades, the service has fulfilled its assignments successfully, from the early postwar years in a showdown with the counter-revolutionary forces, through the reckoning with the Cominform forces in 1948, up to this day, when the internal and external enemies of the different sorts are making attempts at destabilizing Yugoslavia and undermining its constitutional order.

Yugoslavia is among the countries where the activities of the security services are legally most comprehensively regulated and controlled, which is taken as a major indicator of the level of civil rights and freedoms.

The Yugoslav security services resolutely and uncompromisingly discharge their duties, but always and fully respecting the individual, its personality and freedoms.

The security services, as a specialized component of Yugoslavia's social self-protection system, engage mainly younger people. Over 65 percent of the staff are under 35 and only 0.5 percent over 55. Scores of doctors and masters of sciences, hundreds of jurists, sociologists, political scientists and other experts are engaged in the security services in the protection of the achievements of Yugoslavia's revolution and the interests of its self-management society, freedom and independence.

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7 June 1985

## YUGOSLAVIA

## SAWP BODY ENDORSES PLATFORM FOR WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL

AU191736 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14 May 85 p 6

[Text] A session of the Section for Foreign political Questions and International Links of the SAWPY Federal Conference (chaired by Dr Aleksandar Grolickov) yesterday discussed the course of the international and Yugoslav preparations so far for the 12th World Festival of Youth and Students which will be held in Moscow from 27 July to 3 August. The session examined and endorsed the proposed platform for the participation of the Yugoslav youth delegation at this gathering.

The expectation was expressed that the forthcoming gathering, taking into consideration and respecting the different positions and the specific conditions in which the progressive and democratic youth and student organizations work, will offer an opportunity to the participants to exchange opinions through a democratic dialogue on an equal basis about questions of peace, freedom, progress, and independent development, as well as promote trust, friendship, and cooperation among young people all over the world.

Although the political content and program of the festival are insufficiently broad, it was assessed that the frameworks provided nevertheless offer an opportunity for the participation of the Yugoslav youth organization in essential parts of the festival program.

The session also examined the foundations for the participation of representatives of the Conference for Problems of the Social Position of Women of Yugoslavia at a forum of nongovernmental organizations which will be held in Nairobi from 10 to 19 July, in connection with the world conference of women. The significance of the comprehensive preparations for this forum, as well as for the UN women's decade conference was pointed out, and the need was stressed for all socio-political organizations to be involved in the preparations.

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YUGOSLAVIA

WAR VETERANS DELEGATION COMPLETES MOSCOW VISIT

LD132211 Belgradw TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1815 GMT  
13 May 85

[Text] Moscow, 13 May (TANJUG)--The World War II veterans meeting in Moscow ended today. Delegations from 56 countries took part in it including a SUBNOR [Federation of Associations of the National Liberation War Veterans]. During the past 2 days the veterans exchanged views on the paths of the struggle to prevent the threat of war and strengthen peace in the world. Unanimous support prevailed in the discussion for all peace initiatives no matter where they came from because "a new world war would mean suicide for mankind."

On behalf of the Yugoslav SUBNOR the participants at the meeting were greeted by Bogdan Crnobrnja, a member of the delegation of Yugoslav war veterans. He said that the veterans of the antifascist war, those who took part in the great anti-Hitler coalition as well as all other fighters for freedom and independence have the moral and political right as well as a commitment always to place the question of peace in the world on the agenda.

In assessing the situation in the world as "very disquieting" Crnobrnja stressed that it can be improved only "with a policy of peaceful coexistence and with deeds and not slogans." Havint recalled that during World War II Yugoslavia lost 1.7 million of its inhabitants, he stressed that "the socialist self-managing nonaligned Yugoslavia has not aligned itself in any military bloc nor will ever do so" because it pursues a nonaligned foreign policy "which for it is synonymous with a policy of peace."

Stressing the importance of the USSR's relations with the United States for the situation in the world Crnobrnja expressed the wish that they improve and welcomed the new Geneva negotiations between the two super-powers stressing that they should "turn for the better." He said that the veterans of the USSR and of other big countries "have been most meritorious for the victory over fascism and that by the same token they today have even greater responsibility for preserving peace in the world."



The Yugoslav SUBNOR delegation, which is led by Mihailo Svabic, a member of the SUBNOR Federal Board Presidium, today ended its official visit to the USSR. Among other things it attended the celebrations in connection with the 40th anniversary of victory over fascism held in Moscow.

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## ZAGREB VIEWS PRPZ CC PLENARY MEETING

LD151726 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 15 May 85

[Text] The 2-day plenary meeting of the PZPR Central Committee whose central topic was the role and status of intelligentsia in socialist society ended last night, a plenum which so far has evoked surprisingly low-level reverberations in the foreign press. Commentary by Zrnka Novak:

The role and tasks of the intelligentsia is still a hot topic in Poland because the threads which link Polish intelligentsia directly with the crisis in the 1980's are too closely interwoven. These threads have their origin--both the recent one and the more remote one--in the historic myths and represent therefore a sort of timeless sediment. It is understandable therefore that before its 19th plenary meeting, the Polish party organized an extensive debate which had been going for several months and at the Central Committee session gave this topic a realistic framework from the very beginning through the role of the intelligentsia within the priority directions of the development of Poland as far as the end of the century.

Nevertheless, it would appear that despite everything, it was impossible to avoid completely polemical differences because anyone in Poland today would be hard put to explain the diametrically different conduct of Polish intelligentsia as displayed for instance in 1956 when the majority came out in support of socialism or in the 1980's when by and large they aligned themselves with declarative clericalism.

From Jozef Czyrek's plenum report, as transmitted by the Polish PAP agency, we see that he was unable to ignore this important sign of recognition. He said that what the party was offering the intelligentsia could not be a concept of the so-called special mission, messianism, or the rule of souls because this, as he said, belongs to 19th century. However, this definition is of a specifically polish character because as Czeslaw Milosz remarked in the other Europe [West Europe], the key to understand the role of intelligentsia in Poland or in pre-revolutionary Russia is an effect that by and large it had not emerged from the peasantry or bourgeois strata but from the strata of impoverished

nobility. So what can the party offer the intelligentsia to overcome the state of spiritual apathy, the so-called internal emigration, or the experience that clericalism alone is the only way of integration with so-called western civilization, etc.

The party is offering an open arm to everyone willing to cooperate in the long-term development of modern socialist Poland. This implies a host of concrete tasks on the scientific and technological restructuring of the economy and, of course, on the formulation of a comprehensive concept of an adequate reform of education, especially higher education, to be in the service of the long-term needs of society.

The Polish Party Plenum also announced a draft of the Long-term development of Polish culture due to be presented to the 10th congress. Patriotic organizations at large should help in this, so as to make work and progress possible for all talented, active, and creative individuals. Party policy toward the intelligentsia, it was said, stems from the strategy of accord. Its widest plan is outlined by reference to work and one's contribution and acceptance of constitutional principles of the Polish socialist system.

We could say in conclusion that the PZPR will assuredly revert to this important topic and discussion before its 10th congress.

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YUGOSLAVIA

SLOVENE ECONOMIST ON 'CONSENSUS ECONOMY'

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1787, 31 Mar 85  
pp 20-23

[Interview with Dr Joze Mencinger, economics professor at the School of Law of Ljubljana University, by Jug Grizelj: "How To Do Away With the Laws of Economics"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Dr Joze Mencinger (who as a professor in the School of Law at Ljubljana University teaches "The Economics of Yugoslavia") has been a collaborator of Professor Bajt for many years--and it is believed that he will also be his successor in "Bajt's" Economics Institute in Ljubljana. A representative of the younger generation of Yugoslav scientists, Dr Mencinger is also well known for cultivating a language devoid of rhetoric and the demagoguery characteristic of our practice in his polemical speeches and writings. Recently Dr Mencinger has been more concerned with the problems of the "consensus economy."

[Question] And you, professor, are among those of our scientists who, it seems, are at odds with the phantom expression "consensus economy," which no one will acknowledge as his own. What in your opinion is the point of origin of this socioeconomic phenomenon, which has no formal existence?

[Answer] The expression "consensus economy" does not, it is true, occur in legal or political documents, nor in the speeches of politicians. Perhaps, then, there really is no "consensus economy"? I encountered the term for the first time in articles by the economist Dragan Veselinov, and I think that it superbly denotes the economic system which came into being after the Law on Associated Labor and the laws embodying the system over the period 1976-1981. In that sense it really does not matter at all who fathered the child.

The basic point of departure (it makes no difference whether this was conscious or not) of the "consensus economy" is the idea of harmony in a self-managing society, and accordingly in the economy as well, that is, the idea of the goals of economic entities being free of conflict. The next idea that follows from that one is that all the problems in the economy of self-management socialism can be solved by concluding accords and compacts. Since in a real society, not in a society of documents, there is no such thing as an absence of conflict, for which we can be thankful (and I think that we have

debated this question at all levels, since an absence of conflict can be established only by dictatorship and centralistic planning), it is obvious that the system we are referring to is based on an ideological construction of reality.

Let us dwell on only two examples of the logic of the "consensus economy" which "does not exist." For me Article 78 of the Law on Associated Labor, under which consumers become entitled to participate in the income of retail trade in which they make purchases, is very significant for studying the essence of this logic, although its provision has no relevance to reality. It is not important how this proclamation might be brought about; what is important for this consideration of ours is that it proclaims the ancient and inevitable conflict between the motives of the commercial organization and the motives of the consumer to be free of conflict.

The Law on the System of Social Planning can serve as a second example of the logic of the nonexistent "consensus economy." It has been at the center of the public's attention because of the proposed version of the new law which has encountered ardent criticism on the one hand and equally ardent defense on the other, although both the defenders and the attackers have mainly concerned themselves with noneconomic matters. The efforts toward simplification in the new law--omitting some of the rhetoric, reducing the number of words and shortening the sentences--are certainly worthwhile, but the principal attitudes have still remained unchanged. And the new law mainly retains the logic of consensus, and the changes in it strengthen the administrative component of the planning system.

Let us leave to one side the other problems of the system of social planning and discuss only the coordination of the plans of self-managing organizations, that is, the self-management component of planning.

The purpose of this component is to combat the uncertainty of the market, or, if you like, the uncontrolled aspect of the market which arises out of ignorance as to the future actions of other entities in the economy. The suppression of the uncontrolled aspect of the market by concluding compacts and accords among producers of the same products is nothing other than determining the share of all producers of some commodity in the production over the planning period. If those shares are to be determined, there have to be rules which must at least allow for the survival of all participants in concluding the compact, since it is easy to assume that no one would voluntarily sign a compact concerning his own suicide. The criteria for those rules are usually: the shares achieved in the past, the share based on capacity, and so on.

Since all the participants together control the entire supply of a product--they also set its price. It can then be altogether arbitrary (production price, income price, and so on) and is based on the possibility of survival of all participants in the compact, that is, in the planning, and as a rule it will be adjusted to the worst producer. The better producers, who in an uncontrolled market, could displace the poorer ones and increase the share of their products on the market or compel the poorer producers to perform better, do not do this because they make up for the smaller production with the higher

price. In this way, by concluding these compacts, we have actually eliminated the uncontrolled aspect of the market and established a general planned equilibrium based on accords and compacts concerning the bases of the plan. This equilibrium has "only" one fault: it is infinitely far from the optimum!

Of course, social planning is carried out in the manner which the "consensus economy" favors, it cartelizes the economy, since it is accomplished through economic associations, which means through a strengthening of their bureaucracies. Market spontaneity is additionally displaced by agreements among the associations representing groupings and also by the linkage into firm vertical entities and chains. Since "republic interests" also frequently coincide with the "interests" of the entities, groupings and "chains," the political bureaucracy also becomes more and more a part of economic events, until finally all of it together is turned into interrepublic agreements "on supply," on "commodity deliveries" or on "exports to other communities," in which economic entities are only organs for carrying out the agreements.

Finally, is there any evidence that the "consensus economy," by establishing stable planned equilibrium, prevents or at least diminishes losses and the mistakes which are the result of erroneous development decisions of individual enterprises--since they do not know the decisions of other enterprises (but in a consensus economy "there are no unknowns")? Unfortunately, no! All the catastrophic investment decisions in recent years can be classified precisely in this planned and equilibrium consensus category!

[Question] Does the idea of the absence of conflict, which, as you say, is at the basis of the logic of the consensus economy, confine itself to the economic sphere of society?

[Answer] I think that it is easy to establish that the idea of the absence of conflict in the economy is consistent with the idea of the absence of conflict in society at large, which is very close to ideas about the monolithic nature of society, devoid of economic, social or political competition. The pluralism of interests is in this case reduced to the "flowering of a thousand flowers which all have to be the same color." Both history and the present demonstrate very convincingly what the consequences are of attempts to achieve absence of conflict in society, even if we leave out the most extreme examples such as Stalin, Hitler, Pol Pot, Pinochet.... Absence of conflict and monolithism, even without the extremes we mentioned, make society drab. It is the most dangerous external characteristic of centrally planned economies, that is, the economies of real socialism. So, although it is easier to achieve certain goals in a society in which there are no conflicts, that is, in a society in which conflicts are suppressed, the price of running the danger of an artificial monolithism is far greater than the price of the "inefficiency" which has to be paid in a society which authentically, not just verbally, respects the pluralism of interests, but also of ideas.

I therefore think that the danger of absence of political conflict is more significant than the consequences imposed by the logic of the absence of conflict of a consensus economy. The "consensus economy" truly does create an economic structure which corresponds to a corporatistic rather than a

self-managed market economy. It is a more direct road to reaffirmation of economic activity by directive than the occasional, usually uncoordinated, administrative measures of economic policy which are usually reproached for being like directives, but which are often the consequence of the fact that economic policy in the economic system of the "consensus economy"--which we continue to assert does not formally exist--has lost practically all the nonadministrative levers of traditional forms, monetary policy, fiscal policy, etc.

[Question] Our public, that broadest and frequently manipulated public, but also the narrower public, is mainly divided into proponents of two different theses: on the one hand are those who say that the economic system is good, but that "people are carrying it out badly," and on the other those who assert that the state of our economy and of overall relations, and of self-management as well, are only a logical product of the system.

[Answer] I belong with the latter group. I think that the opinion that the economic system is good, but that people are not carrying it out in the way it was conceived, is illogical and above all anti-Marxist. It is amazing, since this kind of opinion is mainly upheld by politicians who consider themselves interpreters of Marxist positions. The opinion that the system is good, but that people are carrying it out poorly, is in opposition to the foundations of Marxist economic science, which is based on two premises: economic entities always behave rationally, and second: economic laws operate independently of the wishes of individuals or social groups.

Neither the socioeconomic system, nor the economic system, nor economic policy make the behavior of people and economic entities rational, but it is they which determine that behavior. In making decisions both the capitalist and the self-manager behave rationally, although the motives of their decisions differ essentially, since they are conditioned by a different socioeconomic system and by their position in that system. And when the consumption of goods (sugar, oil, gasoline ...) is regulated with ration coupons, consumers behave in one way, but when it is regulated by the price, they behave in a different way. But both those behaviors are rational behavior. Indeed even when Richard III shouts out the terms of a trade in his cry "My kingdom for a horse," even he is behaving rationally in the given situation.

The second premise, which holds that economic laws operate independently of the wishes of individuals or social groups, also represents a general point in Marxist economic thought. According to Marx, economic laws even operate like natural laws. The operation of economic laws, then, is also independent of the socioeconomic system, of the economic system, of economic policy and of the economic situation, but the results of their operation is actually determined by those other things. While a surplus of demand over the supply of products in a market economy is manifested as a rule in a rise of prices, the same phenomenon in centrally planned economies is manifested in longer lines in front of the stores, longer lists of those waiting for some product "to arrive," or special lists of the privileged who have "rights" to certain scarce goods. Or: whereas a labor supply greater than the demand is reflected in the capitalist countries in the rates of unemployment, in socialist societies it is reflected in the rate of employed people who are "unemployed." Economic

laws cannot operate to a lesser or greater extent depending on what we wish. It is particularly amazing, therefore, that in our country both the politicians and some of the specialists often say that "so, now, finally, economic laws have begun to operate in our country," about how we have to be mindful of them, or about how we should "finally introduce economic laws." That is pure nonsense! Economic laws were operating before 1980 and before Christ--we only thought they were not--since if they hadn't been, we would not have accumulated the debts which we built up, nor would we now have arrived at economic stagnation and inflation and a drop in the standard of living.

[Question] How do you explain that the logic of the consensus economy has not managed to at least reduce the fragmentariness and atomization of the economy and the market in our country?

[Answer] Although there are some people in our country who believe that fragmentariness can be overcome with compacts and accords, the fact is that the logic of the consensus only contributes to a further fragmentation of the economy, since the vertical entities that come about through consensus and the opstinas and republics raise up fortifications between which there is no longer any chink through which capital can flow. It is no accident, then, that the Yugoslav economy is the only economy in the world (!) which today confronts the problem of fragmentariness, atomization and disintegration. The world is quite contrarily facing the phenomenon of high concentration, monopolies, trusts, the power of the multinational companies, which it is trying to control.

[Question] One of the characteristics of our present economic situation is also that many of the laws embodying the system which have been passed simply are not functioning, or they have been forgotten. What happened, say, to the law on mandatory association of organizations in the trade sector with producer organizations?

[Answer] Reading the newspapers in recent days, we see that that forgotten law from 1980 is again becoming topical, although now its application is being moved to some future time. That law very clearly indicates the logic of the antimarket orientation of the "consensus economy," since its ambition is to "straighten out the spontaneity" even in the domain of the exchange of goods. Article 71 of the Law on Associated Labor introduced the institution of mandatory association between the trade sector and organizations in the production sector. The reason for introducing that institution was said to be the necessity of transformation of socioeconomic relations between the trade sector and the production sector, which would supposedly prevent "the siphoning of income from production into trade," would guarantee more efficient business operation in production and trade, would reduce costs, and would raise labor productivity.

I cannot say what economic law the idea of that article of the Law on Associated Labor is based on, but it is fairly certain that it reaffirms an ancient idea to the effect that economic activities can be divided into those which are more or less valuable or "respected." This was an idea that Aristotle introduced. Since it survived the Middle Ages, the idea of respect, that is, of



"honorable" or "dishonorable" professions, assumed an important place in the economic thoughts of the Physiocrats, and it then vanished along with them at the end of the 18th century, and now here it has cropped up again in our country. That idea, looked at in the logic of its "resurrection," seems to me closest to the definitions of the social product used by the nonmarket centrally planned economies.

Even the very one-sided obligation to form an association places organizations in the trade sector (emotionally in a dishonorable position) in an unequal position from the economic standpoint. This mandatory association, that is, the creation of the income of the trade sector solely through association, implies that association is economically unwarranted for the trade organization. After all, if it were justified, it would not take a law to force them to form the association, but the logic of income would do that job without coercion. The next assumption, that that kind of siphoning exists, is based on an assertion in that law to the effect that that siphoning will be prevented "by mandatory linkage based on income sharing." Yet how is one to explain, then, that the law has not been enforced, since trade organizations in our country do not have income at all which they might pool, they do not have it even to undertake modernization, nor to expand their activity, nor to pay their personal incomes? What is more, it is not clear why purchase-sale relations would be a cause of the siphoning of income, and it is especially unclear how linkage based on income sharing between one "honorable" and one "dishonorable" sphere would prevent the siphoning of income, since it is well known that siphoning is brought about by monopoly position and independently of the way in which goods are distributed.

[Question] It is rather unusual that the polemics were not conducted promptly even about these important facts. That is why the general public does not have a very clear idea of what lies behind the terminology of what we are calling the "consensus economy."

[Answer] It is perhaps best to draw the comparison of terms with respect to the way in which income is created. The Law on Associated Labor recognizes four basic ways of creating income: (1) by selling on the market or within a work organization, (2) by sharing in gross income or income, (3) free exchange of labor and (4) other ways. The first and fourth ways are not of interest to this discussion, since they are identical in both economies, the capitalist and the socialist. There remains the third way (exchange of labor) and two forms of the second way of creating income: participation in gross income and participation in income. Participation in gross income, put most simply, has to do with association concerning production, and participation in income with association concerning all factors of production. The first form is supposed to gradually replace sales and purchase-sales relations, while the second is supposed to perform the functions which the capital market has in a capitalistic economy. The free exchange of labor is supposed to replace fiscal activity.

The economic system of the "consensus economy" maintains even in its terminology the idea of the absence of conflict, that is, of identical interests, which explains the emergence of such terms as "self-management accord,"

"social compact," "free exchange of labor" and the like. All of these terms are supposed to signify "something else" than a contract, tax or similar terms whereby a number of various relations between economic entities are regulated in capitalist economies. However, many differences are only apparent and only terminological.

For example, while in the case of the purchase-sale contract (which is sanctioned by law) it is quite obvious that it is the purchaser's interest to buy at a lower price, and the seller's interest to sell at a higher one, which means that their interests are different, a self-management accord on participation in gross income suggests that we are dealing with an identical interest--i.e., higher income of both, which is why it is not sanctioned by law, but that higher income is created by a higher price, since here again the price enters into the determination of income. Even if we were to ignore the particular interest of each of these two parties to a compact in obtaining a larger share of that gross income, it is certain that opposing interests must emerge sooner or later in an economy. If it does not appear before (if not between two basic organizations of associated labor or on the border between two opstinas), then it will certainly emerge on the border between the republics or on the national border, on which the "identity" of interests cannot be honored. But in the meantime, and before those limits are reached--"identity of interests" and "absence of conflict between interests" have already essentially diminished efficiency and productivity and have raised the cost of production.

The institution of participation in income is supposed to do a job performed in a capitalist economy by the capital market in the allocation of resources. On that market capital is channeled into those segments of the economy where it brings the highest profit to its owners. In our economy that kind of allocation of resources is supposed to be performed by the institution of creation of income along with participation in income, that is, by the pooling of capital. It is well known that in practice this institution is functioning only in rare cases and that even then, for very specific reasons which have nothing at all to do with optimum allocation of capital. I think that this institution for optimum allocation of resources cannot function even theoretically, since once again its point of departure is the idea that it is possible to create an identity of interests by concluding a compact. Incidentally, the entire body of practice has provided the best demonstration of that.

Finally, the institution of free exchange of labor, which in our self-management model is supposed to replace the parts of the fiscal system in capitalist economy, is once again not so different as one might judge from its fancy name. In practice this institution has been turned into a parafiscal institution, and that even in the judgment of our highest forums.

[Question] All of these fierce polemics over the consensus economy in which many public figures and scientists in all fields have become involved, from sociologists and economists to political scientists, and indeed even practical politicians, seems to suggest that the "stakes" are high. What is it that makes people see red as soon as one of the parties to a dispute opts for the "consensus economy" or against it?

[Answer] I do not claim to be familiar with the system in its entirety, since I am not a specialist in economic systems. I think, however, if we accept that limitation, that the economic system which has been proclaimed in the laws embodying the system over the period from 1976 to 1981 is truly consistent, and indeed consistent in the "consensus" sense. But the consistency of a system on paper does not signify that it is applicable, that is, that it is possible to achieve the goals desired with it, in our case the goals of democratic socialist self-management in the framework of the concept of associated labor.

In my opinion, the principal error of our economic system based on those laws embodying the system, is its visionary lack of realism and its being founded on an idealistic construction of reality and on neglect of what economic science has learned, all of which can be explained by the "specific features of our model," which in reality do not even exist. For all those reasons, of course, that system is also overloaded with institutions. These characteristics do not diminish the consistency of the system, but they constitute the fundamental reason why that system is not actually functioning in practice, that is, it does not exist.

It really is not difficult to prove that the system as proclaimed has fallen apart. It is enough to enumerate the great number of system-related laws which have formally or in actuality been vacated as soon as they were passed, since they were irrelevant to economic events, and they were replaced by other laws or administrative measures, which in turn have not been yielding any sort of results or results that have been very poor. Which means, if the system proclaimed on paper was in fact consistent, then what remains of it in practice is certainly inconsistent. I am afraid that we have to agree with the judgment that this system can lead us only into the society of "real socialism."

I hope that the opening up of all these debates on the "consensus economy" and similar topics which have brought about our crisis will diminish that danger, since even the people in positions where decisions are made will become more clearly conscious of where that system can--regardless of good intentions--lead us, if we do not talk about it openly.

7045

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## YUGOSLAVIA

## OBSTACLES TO HOUSING REFORM DESCRIBED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1788, 7 Apr 85  
pp 18-20

[Article by Velizar Zecevic, assisted by Ivana Anojcic and Nebojsa Curcic:  
"The Reform Which No One Wants"]

[Text] "Between costs of this kind for housing in a socialized housing unit and the street, I choose the street," a disturbed Belgrade man said in a meeting in his local community 2 weeks ago. He did not introduce himself, he did not say where he lived, presumably out of the fear that some of the homeless in Belgrade might after all take this anonymous threat seriously.

But that fear was groundless for the simple reason that the homeless do not meet in local communities when housing is discussed, they do not go to the opstina headquarters to check their prospects for moving in somewhere. They wage their battles in the smaller arena of the organization of associated labor, the only place where housing units are given out, allocated, and possibly taken away.

Other Belgrade citizens have been coming to the smoky rooms of the local communities in the capital these past 2 weeks, that majority of them who until recently looked on with indifference at the futile housing battles of the homeless. Now they, those who have socially owned housing units in Belgrade, these citizens who have things worked out and are well-situated, have suddenly opened up "their own" housing front and have been loudly, resolutely and unhesitatingly displaying their disagreement with the proposed new rents and the price rise of utilities and municipal services. One can also sense here the fear of a majority of tenants of socially owned housing units (it was all we could do not to say "owners"), who up to now have been free of worry, that perhaps this is not an ordinary price rise, but the beginning of the beginning of a housing reform which, even as a bare possibility, could fundamentally and permanently upset the relations that now exist, housing regulations, the system, and finally, the socialist privilege that one must and can have housing that is inexpensive, almost gratis. "If even housing units become too expensive, inaccessible, what will then be left of socialism," one Belgrade man whose housing has been provided for declared, again anonymously.

Why should socialism be threatened by a reform, rather than by an ordinary price rise for housing, when it is more than clear that the principal product of housing policy up to now and the system for allocation of housing is that in the capital at the moment there are some 50,000 families without housing, more than 15 years ago? There might be two answers, depending on who is answering the question. The homeless would say that the present system cannot resolve the housing crisis, that there will not be enough housing units so long as the present rules for distribution are in effect. Those who do have socially owned housing, conversely, see the socialist features of the present system solely in inexpensive and guaranteed housing and in the prospect that one day all will receive housing. Yet the housing reform, at least as conceived in the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program, does not acknowledge any right to a housing unit, but places housing in a strictly defined economic zone in which it is not possible to have both inexpensive housing and enough housing.

These are obviously big words, but the crisis is not a small one either.

#### Papers and Life

The housing crisis, which is what the war to obtain socially owned housing units is called here (private housing units are another story), has gone on for decades and even though new housing units are being built (fewer now than previously), it is not dying out at all. If one is to determine the depth and volume of that crisis, one first has to eliminate all logic.

In Belgrade, according to 1983 figures, there are 374,000 housing units. That is also the number of families, according to registrations and the census. That same year, however, the capital had a shortage of 47,000 housing units, although every living and registered citizen of Belgrade is entitled to an average of 16.3 square meters in the existing housing stock, which means a unit with 50 square meters of floor space for every typical family (father, mother and one child). If we compare these figures and recall the fact that in Belgrade there are just as many housing units as families, it seems that the phrase "housing crisis" ought to be placed between quotes: there actually is no crisis, since both in Serbia and in Yugoslavia there are more housing units than families.

But what does not exist on paper does exist in life. The housing crisis, without quotes, has been the principal difficulty of life that has first of all dealt a serious blow to those 47,000 homeless people who live a vagabond's life, who put up with it, and in the end are the only ones who know what the housing crisis is. The crisis can be seen even with the naked eye: residential buildings are going to ruin, the facades are crumbling, and many roofs are leaking. Rents are insufficient even for mere maintenance of the present housing stock, and if the revenues collected in one Belgrade building are to be used to build yet another just like it, the estimates say it will take about 660 years.

Finally, the official city documents project the crisis even into the distant future. According to the Amendments and Supplements to the Master Urban Plan

of Belgrade, there will be housing difficulties even in the year 2000. Pessimistic unofficial reflections based on the present system for division and allocation of socially owned housing units and on the rate of construction in recent years go even further: at the beginning of the next century and the third millennium the housing crisis will be still greater and more pronounced.

A further enumeration of the figures on the housing crisis, with or without quotes, would not help in the least to clarify, but would only complicate the reflection: in the labyrinth of legislation, rights, systems and habits--set in the context of evidence concerning the general decline in the standard of living--a man would have to lose his mind before he would find a solution to our housing riddle.

"I know only one thing," we were told by Dragan Miljkovic, who works at "21 Maj" in Rakovica, "and that is the only thing I can confirm: anyone who is able to take a larger unit, took it. Whoever was able to put his hands on two or three, did so."

The system for distribution of socially owned housing units obviously has not withstood the test of time, although the trial has lasted more than three decades now. Various regulations have been tested concerning point systems and "criteria," there have been changes in regulations and in commissions, there have been judgments and verdicts, justice was appealed to, and people acted unjustly, but in a moment of sincerity many people will say that the fundamental principle of the division was nevertheless based on relations of individual power in collectives, or, put more simply: on plunder.

#### Unsuccessful Reforms

The peaceful life of those who live in socially owned housing units in the capital was not disturbed until recently, when in a meeting of the city's executive council a proposal was drafted for raising rents 64 percent as of 1 April. The first reactions recorded came down to a throwing up of the hands and disbelief: it would not go through. Most tenants in socially owned housing units in the capital could console themselves that the suggestions of similar housing reforms in previous years had always become hung up somewhere and then were soon completely forgotten. Four years ago the Belgrade Municipal Committee certified an urgent demand to raise rents, but a few months later it all came to a halt with the federal order to freeze rents because of the threat to the standard of living. At the end of last year the Federal Executive Council sponsored the law on mandatory depreciation of housing units (all users of social resources would pay depreciation except tenants, though housing is the largest social resource in Belgrade), but the delegates in the Yugoslav Assembly immediately thereafter were still faster in voting a postponement of the law's application until next year.

The recent proposal to raise rents in the capital was linked, by intention of the proponents, to the package for price rises of all other municipal services and utilities--water, trash removal, transportation and electric power. Even the bravest people of Belgrade had to take fright: in addition to the new rents, it was announced that water would go up 38.7 percent in April and

another 25.9 percent in July, heating and hot water 37.5 percent in April and 22.4 percent in July, municipal transportation 30.3 percent at once and another 12.7 percent in mid-year, and finally, trash removal 29.4 percent in April and another 20.8 percent in July.

Dusan "Senko" Bogdanov, president of the Council of Yugoslav Trade Unions, came to the aid of the unconvincing explanation of municipal leaders about "packaging" all these price rises in a single proposal:

"We have to look at housing costs as a whole," Dusan Bogdanov said, "and that means that prices for water, electric power, transportation, and so on, not just rents, since the workers' standard of living cannot withstand a drastic increase of all these costs."

After the cross fire in the opstinas, the Executive Council of the Belgrade Assembly rushed before the people of Belgrade with a price rise proposal that had to some extent been "abbreviated." The "popular discussion," according to the reporters of Belgrade newspapers, "started out, as in previous years (it is the custom in Belgrade to discuss the prices for municipal services and utilities, other prices can be accepted without grumbling) on the well-trodden path: the well-known arguments were reiterated with more or less vitriol and bitterness in local communities to the effect that sometimes municipal service organizations and utilities do not spend their funds (investment funds) for the purpose specified, there have even been cases when instead of expanding the city's water supply network, for example, housing was built for personnel, and that then made water more expensive.

The main arguments against the new price increases are the precipitous drop of the standard of living, the powerful rise of the cost of living, and the low personal incomes. Everyone is saying that the average worker with an average income cannot support the proposed price increases. No one spares his words in defending the threatened interest of the working class, especially not the representatives of those local communities and opstinas in which there are not really very many members of that class.

#### Stormy Discussion

The largest item in the package of price increases--heating--which in the first proposal was supposed to go up from 3,784 to 6,368 dinars for an average apartment with 50 square meters of floor space encountered a virtual wall of rejection. There remained hidden behind the fortification against expensive heating the fact that only one-third of the 390,000 housing units in Belgrade are heated with radiators. Figures on the price increases of petroleum, coal, wood, electric power and fossil fuels, which, whatever the revulsion, are nevertheless used in the other 260,000 housing units in the capital. The reason is perhaps quite simple: the prices of municipal services and utilities, transportation and rent are the only prices the citizens make decisions on. Those who do make decisions.

And thus after stormy discussions in local communities in New Belgrade, this opstina's assembly (Chamber of Local Communities) decided to reject the



proposal for the price increase of municipal services, utilities and rent as a whole. When on 28 March that proposal was taken up in the assembly of the city, the verdict of the delegates was somewhat milder: the decision was postponed to 18 April, and the "universal popular discussion" will be continued until that date.

Even that kind of crossing of the delegate system and democratic principles on the one hand and economic troubles and the need for the city to develop and build on the other is yielding a political result which is achieving what is usually impossible--for the citizens themselves to vote for higher prices. "You will have new prices, since that is what you ask for."

This time, then, rents will also share the uncertain fate of price increases of municipal services and utilities in Belgrade. Right or wrong, it depends on whether the rent increases are taken as a part of the general rise of prices and a threat to the standard of living or as one step toward a housing reform.

There is no very integrally conceived housing reform in which the housing stock would be renewed and housing paid for, as is well known, among the new proposals, nor does it belong to the spontaneous wave of inflation. The housing reform is a special section and integral part of the Economic Stabilization Program, which, if we recall, has been in effect for 2 years now, but has not been actually carried out. The housing reform even has a certain advantage, at least one concerning time: back in 1965 it was noted that the system for construction and allocation of housing units should be altered, since it was even economically untenable (inefficient and expensive construction) and in social terms unprincipled (the housing contribution is collected from everyone, but only some obtain housing).

#### Until the Next Attempt

In the heat of the Belgrade discussions of municipal services last week it turned out that there was no one to speak for the housing reform. "If we have come to the point of protecting the standard of living of working people with the lowest possible salaries for drivers and garbagemen, we are truly in a profound crisis," the director of Belgrade municipal transportation said last Thursday in the main auditorium of the Belgrade Assembly. At least once a year the directors of the enterprises for water supply, heating and trash removal go out to meet the delegate constituency in local communities and use figures, analyses, statistics and chosen words to assure the people that a price increase is inevitable and indispensable. As for the housing reform, which also would encompass rent increases, it seems no one has the responsibility and jurisdiction. Socially owned housing units do not concern anyone. Who wants the existing residential buildings to be preserved and new housing units built (perhaps only the builders and the homeless), who will propose that the housing stock be depreciated, that a social resource of the greatest value be saved from going to ruin? Those who ought to be making decisions on these things can only hope for this situation to go on as long as possible. To the end.



Are these not reasons enough for confidently predicting the end of any housing reform at the very outset?

In the last 3 months of this year the people's elected representatives have twice refused to confront the inevitability of housing reform: first this was done by the delegates of the Yugoslav Assembly and then by committee members in certain Belgrade opstinas and the municipal assembly. Anyone who still believes in the future of the suggested housing reform can now only hope for a third attempt and the attempts after that. If he lives to see the day.

7045

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## IVAN SUPEK BOOK ON HEBRANG CASE ATTACKED

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 13 Jan 85 p 4

[Article by Usos Soskic: "To the Right of Reality and Truth"]

[Text] In recent years, certain nostalgic public monologues have been very frequent in our country. People who have sometimes tried to establish themselves and with more or less success have established themselves in science, art, or politics have taken up their pens in their old age in order to acquaint the present younger generations with their views of our recent past, but also of our present. These are crucial and dramatically important views, they think.

It is not difficult, however, to see that these people are actually showering the younger world with second-hand gleanings, and that in doing so they are acting as if they were abundantly sharing historical truths known only to them about the most important facts, events, and figures of our revolution and our society. One of these people allegedly brings us major additions to the biography of Comrade Tito; another "illuminates the stain" of Goli Otok; a third discovers that royal Yugoslavia and its helmsmen (including Aleksandar, the "gallant unifier") were not all black; a fourth reminds us that he was the only prophet who foresaw certain recent events in Kosovo...

It is clear that they do not engage in this work for entertainment alone. They are all convinced that they are taking far-reaching steps, revising the positions and views of the LCY on these issues. In this activity, there is also a notoriety seeking desire to call the attention of the public to their own trifling selves.

They pay no attention at all to historical verification of these views and positions. Even more paradoxical, however, is the activity of people who live among us, but sell their gleaned scrap under the umbrella of foreign forces and their interests.

It is well known how Milovan Djilas has entertained parts of the public in Western countries for decades. Recently, he has been imitated in this by Ivan Supek, a former rector of the University of

Zagreb. His debut as a historian/journalist of the semiliterate entertainment genre was several years ago in London, with the book "Heretic on the Left," and recently his "Crown Witness Against Hebrang" came out in the United States (copyright by Markanton Press).

It should be stated at once that in the subtitle Ivan Supek declared this book of his to be a historical and biographical novel, although even superficially leafing through it would be enough to conclude that it is a classic pamphlet with some not quite skillful novelistic passages. As is already known, his previous literary attempts, in the literary sense, remained only ephemeral attempts. In the literary sense, Ivan Supek does not rise above the level of the concept of "JAMBREKOVSTINA," all in the style of literary writing like "na istoku sunce grane, moj Milenko lijeci rane" [the sun is spreading in the east, my Milenko is treating wounds]. What does he want to say now with his new "novel"?

#### "The Greatest Historical Disaster"

In May 1980 (just then!) a certain old man went into a building, from all indications the Zagreb District Court, and found a judge, two of his assistants, and a clerk working on reducing the old records. It was precisely an old trial that the old man was interested in. He had come to request a reopening of the criminal proceedings against Andrija Hebrang...

Many people, quite logically, will immediately ask: why Andrija Hebrang? What does Dr. Ivan Supek, a prominent participant in the events remembered as the nationalistic euphoria of 1971, have to do with this high party and state official, who committed suicide in prison in the first years after the war? In order to explain this, it is worth while to present, at least in a very brief form, the theses which Dr. Ivan Supek deals with obsessively in the books that he has published abroad.

He feels that from the very beginning, there were two concepts, two factions, in conflict within our communist movement. The Bolshevik faction was formed in Belgrade and took root in the eastern parts of the country, and the Eurocommunist one (as early as the 1920's) was born in Zagreb and spread through the western parts of Yugoslavia... But this is not all. He naturally wants to add a few more vapid nationalistic characterizations to his philistine vision of the past of our communist movement.

The first concept on the historical stage was dangerously barren and thus destructive, and the second constructively active, he explains further. This was best seen when the most difficult wartime tests were undergone. The Bolshevik faction was the one that originated the concept of the futile uprising in Serbia and Montenegro that was very quickly suppressed, and after the short-lived Uzicka

Republic, the partisans were forced to shift their fighting to the territory of what was then the NDH [Independent State of Croatia]. The Eurocommunist faction offered the people a pluralistically organized people's authority and democratic methods, and so it immediately attracted them. A partisan Croatia was created, an antifascist state that functioned irreproachably all the way to the end of the war. (The evocation of "Eurocommunism" has too strong an effect on Ivan Supek, to put it very mildly. Eurocommunism, however, was conceived by consistent people with proven political and creative talents.)

This is not all, however. The Bolshevik faction blindly followed its Moscow models and viewed relations in our area in strictly centralist terms. The Eurocommunist one opposed it with federalism, stressing the equality of peoples as an essential condition and the meaning of the victory. Dr. Ivan Supek emphasizes, so that it will not be forgotten, that prior to AVNOJ [Antifascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia], ZAVNOH formulated the principle of the federal system of the future Yugoslav community.

Furthermore, the author of "Crown Witness Against Hebrang" feels that the greatest historical disaster was the fact that toward the end of the war the Bolshevik faction gained the upper hand, in spite of all the successes. The experiences and the results achieved by partisan Croatia were thus not only ignored, but even became a thorn in the flesh of the most dogmatic people in the party leadership. In the enthusiasm that the people showed for such a policy of the people's authority, they saw a nationalist danger and separatism. They picked Hebrang as the main live target for their attack, not only because he was highly popular among the people, and they could not bear this, but also because they had conflicted so much with him in theoretical discussions in the prisons of the former Yugoslavia.

Thus, the prominent combatant of the "Maspok" [Mass Movement] and the patron of the militant "university students" at that time is continuing to give vent to his nationalistic passions by playing games with the historical facts, distorting the facts and the meaning of some remote conflicts of opinion in our communist movement, and stressing the umbilical ties between his milieu and the West in a manner that "proves" that Eurocommunism appeared a long time ago on our territory.

But then what does Professor Supek do with the appearance and activity of Josip Broz Tito, the line of the 8th local conference of the Zagreb communists, Tito's struggle for the "Bolshevization and purity of the party," and the 5th country conference of the KPJ [Communist Party of Yugoslavia]?

## When Blood Rushes to One's Head

It is in this scene of a conflict between two factions in the communist movement that Dr. Ivan Supek gives shape to the personal drama of Andrija Hebrang. Who is responsible for his mysterious fall into the gloomy abyss? Among the figures who moved in his circle in the days of the war and were a matter of life and death for him, the author of this book sees first of all Milovan Djilas, a very stubborn and pugnacious man, but likewise a powerful one. He rode to Otocac, the headquarters of ZAVNOH, on a white horse, and exploded with anger, with envy that the liberation movement in Croatia had developed so successfully and that Hebrang had become very popular.

Everywhere that it appeared, Dr. Ivan Supek assures his reader, Milovan's dogmatism and in general the "eastern" concepts created a desert. He frightened the people and drove them away from him and multiplied the number of Chetniks, and the partisans remained without a base. Something quite the opposite happened in Lika and in Kordun, in Moslavina and Zumberak, in Banija, in Slovenija, Zagorje, and Dalmatia. First the Serbia villages rose against the Ustasa rule of terror, and the Croatian communists, mainly workers and students, came from the cities. The movement was then accepted by the entire people, all except for the incorrigible traitors, and the army and state were created with all their attributes. This was an authority based on pluralism, an authority that guaranteed civil and property security to everyone, religious, party, and every other freedom.

Hebrang discussed all of this with Djilas, and "the blood simply rushed to the head" of the latter. Dr. Ivan Supek writes about how Djilas felt at that moment: if Hebrang and his multiparty omnibus reached their goal, he would have to go into the ditch by the side of the road. He understood that his only chance was to undermine his opponent before the latter's victory, and that he would have to do so quickly and by surprise.

## Fatal Individuals

And he struck. In a speech in a full room, he warned of the danger of petty-bourgeois deviation, of imitating bourgeois fashions. He did not name anyone, but it was known that he was aiming this against Hebrang, because he also alluded to the latter's wife, who had already become the director of a brewery in Otocac. With a bagful of intrigues and slanders, Djilas would return to the central leadership of the CPY and begin the campaign against "contrived" nationalism that would finally end with Hebrang's dismissal from his position as secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Croatia.

Supek does not know and does not want to know that this man was dismissed from this post because he offered our revolution a bourgeois future. After all, the party assessments of his ideas and conduct are well known. These assessments appeared in 1944, when his disagreement with the party came to light for the first time.

The author of this book recognizes another person who was fatal for the destiny of Andrija Hebrang in the figure of Josip Kopinic. The war caught the mysterious "Air," a representative of the Comintern who gathered information from Yugoslavia and several other countries, in Zagreb. After the uprising, his ambitions grew, and he wanted to impose himself as the secretary of the Croatian Communist Party. In order to accomplish this, he needed some sort of spectacular achievement, Dr. Supek claims. He therefore tried to liberate the prisoners from Kerestinac and did this so badly that he brought around a hundred people to disaster, all of them leftist intellectuals.

Dr. Ivan Supek says further that "Air" spent 3 years waiting in Zagreb for the Red Army and the Lenin Medal of Honor, and that it finally became clear to him that the Croatian partisans would arrive first, and so he conceived a desire for the clean air of the forest. And previously he once took refuge outside of Zagreb when Srebenjak and Hebrang, who know his conspiratorial residence, were arrested.

It is precisely in this that Dr. Supke finds an important "proof" of the correctness of his theses and constructs. Not one link was broken. Srebenjak was to be shot, Hebrang was sent to a camp in Gradisek, and "Air" could peacefully remain in his hiding place in Zagreb. Thus the only thing that happened was that the Ustasa police "freed him of a rival informant of the Red Army, and thus he would have a monopoly for a long time in reporting to Moscow."

Since according to Dr. Ivan Supek's "findings" the central figure in the liberation movement in Croatia was Hebrang, it is clear that all the plotters shot their arrows against him. Aleksandar Rankovic, Ceca Stefanovic, and others plotted against him. Like all the junk dealers who have recently forced themselves on our historical journalism, Dr. Ivan Supek also prefers to attack dead opponents or those who have left the stage. Milovan Djilas, Ceca Stefanovit, Edvard Kardelj.... Since he too, Dr. Supke says, attended to having Hebrang dismissed. Dr. Supek will never forgive Kardelj for having stated once in 1944 that things in Croatia would never develop well for Yugoslavia as long as Hebrang was not removed.

#### Dramatic Climax of the Story

In the fall of 1944, when the liberation army was already stepping into the Syrmia plain, an airplane carrying Edvard Kardelj and Milovan Djilas from Barij to Belgrade landed at the Glina airport. It was they, who until then had been most critical of the Croatian

Communist Party for right-wing deviationism, and had characterized the Third Session of ZAVNOH as a fall into bourgeois liberalism, who received Hebrang in the airplane, and he left for his new post. He became a minister in the government of Yugoslavia, and he was in any case the member from Croatia of the Politburo of the CPY Central Committee.

He did not last long in these duties, however, since it was only a year later that his fall really began. The newspapers first announced that he had left the Economic Council and the Ministry of Industry, and had become the chairman of the Planning Commission. This was obviously a lower post. He was expelled from the Politburo. Shortly afterward, he found himself before a party commission, and this bewildered many people around him.

According to Dr. Ivan Supek, Milovan Djilas conducted a conversation with one of these people close to Hebrang, accusing him of defending Hebrang and his chauvinism with respect to Serbs. In response to this, his interlocutor began to list the following: at the Second Session of ZAVNOH in August 1943, Hebrang encouraged the establishment of the Serbian Club of Councillors; when the Education Department proposed that the Latin script be taught first in elementary schools and then the Cyrillic, since everywhere the sequence was that people began with Cyrillic in Serbian villages. Dr. Supek immediately adds to this that ZAVNOH's entire policy was based on the agreement of Croats and Serbs, on a continuation of the Democratic Coalition started by Stjepan Radic and Svetozar Pribicevic...

Always the same thing: the continuation of a coalition, pluralism, as if the emergence from fascist oppression was viewed and sought in Croatia only by means of the formula of the old society. But this is not must the generalism and blindness of Dr. Supek. He knows quite well why he is pretending to be blind. This is a quite deliberate nationalistic deception.

But things with Hebrang became so involved--Dr. Supek continues--that the people closest to him simply began to avoid talking about him. How is one to understand this? He was imprisoned and accused as a Soviet agent, but also as a person who worked for the Ustasa and the Gestapo.

In his desire to increase the markedly dilettantish "dramatic tension" of his story, Dr. Supek obviously insists on the coincidence that Galvnjaca had not yet been destroyed at that time, and that one Hebrang ended up in that hated prison. He, the communist who spent the most time in prison in old Yugoslavia (from 1929 to 1940), an underground fighter who fell into the hands of the Ustasa and was exchanged along with his wife Olga for some German officers, was right there in Glavnjaca. In Glavnjaca, where the investigator Mita Milatovic

fanatically carried out the orders of his far from tender chiefs, Aleksandar Rankovic and Cece Stefanovic.

Soon, however, Olga Hebrang and Bogdanka Podunavac, the daughter of a well-known Orthodox priest in Pakrac, were also brought to Glavnjaca, under the accusation that both of them had also worked in prison for the Ustasa. Also brought to Glavnjaca was "Host," a man who had offered refuge in his apartment to Hebrang and the entire Central Committee of the Croatian Communist Party while it was in Zagreb. He was also accused of cooperating with the Ustasa and the Germans, even though the fascists never learned what had happened in his apartment.

These people were forced by torture in Glavnjaca to confess to what was ascribed to them, and then to agree to give false testimony against Hebrang, Dr. Ivan Supek emphasizes. "Host" was subjected to particularly unbearable torture, since he had been chosen to be the main crown witness. But Andrija Hebrang and Bogdanka Podunavac could not bear it and killed themselves. The atmosphere, methods of torture, and humiliations at that time in Glavnjaca did not differ at all from Stalin's prisons--this is reiterated countless times by the author of the book "Crown Witness Against Hebrang."

#### Truth Like Chewing Gum

He repeats this tirelessly, but it is well known that he was not in the wasp's nest of the struggle of the wartime underground, that he does not know anything about the rises and falls of the people in that struggle, that he does not have any personal knowledge with which to shed light on the case he is writing about, and that consequently he can only retell the assertions of others. But he cannot shed any light at all on how he collected and put together these stories. He is undoubtedly the least qualified to bring up Hebrang's case.

Nevertheless, we have carefully summarized his book, primarily because we are convinced that even a quite superficial comparison of his claims with the truths that have been verified by history and which are still remembered by several living generations will very quickly and clearly expose his far from good-natured intentions.

In fact, it is easy to observe that Dr. Ivan Supek gives himself so much historical freedom that he shamelessly falsifies the history of our communist movement, in regard to which the thesis of a "Bolshevist" east and a "pluralistic" west is a transparent argument of the anticommunist machinery. He only wants to say one thing by this: the differences between the Yugoslav east and west are so unbridgeable that these are two different worlds. The professor is not interested at all in the fact that it was the CPY/LCY, at the head of the working masses of all the peoples and nationalities of



this country that surmounted most of these differences (which were created in the course of the centuries of the difficult, agonizing history of this somewhat exposed area of Europe).

Adhering to the favorite slogan of every nationalist that one's own house is the best and most valuable and that all others are worthless in comparison with it, Dr. Ivan Supek reduces to insignificance the scale, extent, and results of the partisan struggle in Serbia, and reduces it to the 60 days of the Uzicka Republic and the several hundred fighters who had to go to Bosnia during the cold December days of 1941. And who is he in any case to be able to judge this?

In the enthusiasm of his pseudohistorical free alteration, Dr. Ivan Supek became daring enough to have recourse to playing down everything that spoiled his improved picture of his "home." Although he is well aware of how much painful agony is aroused even today by speculation about the number of victims at Jasenovac, he permits himself to make the following assertion without any hesitation:

"The Jasenovac camp was the largest place of execution in the NDH. According to the statistical institute, 50,000 prisoners were killed there, mostly leftist Croatians, but also Serbs, Gypsies, and Jews. In general the communists were dealt with most harshly, while the others were considered to have been 'born wrong,' not through their own fault."

There is no sense at all in asking Dr. Ivan Supek which "statistical institute" could have given him that information on the number of people killed, since he only uses numbers as tools for reducing or increasing what he wants to reduce or increase. And every decent person is allergic to this shuffling through the bones of the victims of Jasenovac. One has to say to Dr. Supek, "Only cut-throats count like that, Professor!" He quite calmly leaves all of those agonies and victims out of his calculations. Such acts prove a pathological detachment from reality, and a complete preoccupation with not exactly honorable fictions. All of this is a nationalistic trance dressed up in the pseudoliterary clotting of an untalented writer.

#### The Publisher Did Not Have to Say It

Also, the further he moves away from historical reality, the further the author of "Crown Witness Against Hebrang" moves away from life, from the world in which he lives. Since he made use of this case only because he thought that in this way it would be easiest for him to show that we are in a traumatic situation, that we are really living in some sort of ship of fools. Here is a characteristic description:

"General Mita himself prepared him for the encounter with Andrija Hebrang. For an entire week, he had to repeat every morning what he would say to his old friend. Not only the meaning of the sentence was important, but also the order of the words and the accentuation. These repetitions resembled some sort of theatrical presentation more than a judicial discussion. He had learned the script by heart, but nevertheless he would become confused, each time at a different spot. In contrast to the previous investigation, he now had to act as if he and Hebrang had been Ustasa and German agents since the beginning of the occupation. In any case, he was a little inclined to stutter, and he would still stumble, in the general's dissatisfied glances."

Hundreds of other "novelistic" acrobatics show that Dr. Ivan Supek is ready to use everything and everyone in order to "prove" that our recent past is a gloomy wax museum with the bloody traces of the violence of those who had promised freedom to the people, and that in this darkness only a somber present without a future could be born. Naturally, it is evident who is responsible for all this. Dr. Ivan Supek's hatred for the communists is truly boundless. In the epilogue, his publisher did not have to say at all that "Supek no longer considers himself a Marxist or a communist." That can be seen only too well in his book. The genesis of Dr. Supek's "literary" works gives one a hint that his markedly nationalistic positions also conceal a potential small provincial Stalinist. It appears that there is no paradox in this duality with respect to Supek's "literature."

Like all of his colleagues who, as we stated, are offering their public monologues, Dr. Ivan Supek also selected his subject carefully. Even today, an occasional detail on the case of Andrija Hebrang is stated in public from time to time. The former Zagreb rector saw this as his opportunity to appear as a defender of "truth and justice."

But not a defender of truth and justice just among us, but before the entire world. That is his ambition. Naturally, still in too naive a manner and without a shadow of literary talent. A person who lives in isolation from yesterday's reality and today's cannot be otherwise. The fact is actually that Dr. Ivan Supek's acrobatics could only mislead and confuse some uniformed Yugoslav emigre, and that is one more proof that acrobats live very briefly with the feeling that someone is admiring them.

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YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

'MISINFORMATION CAMPAIGN' DENIED--A malicious misinformation campaign had long been present in the press and also in interviews, reports and statements of some of our prominent writers, namely that Nejgos' OGLEDALO SRPSKO [SERB MIRROR] has allegedly been printed in Montenegro as OGLEDALO--without the adjective "Serb" and that Nejgos' GORSKI VIJENAC [Mountain WREATH] had been changed, that is, the adjective Serb has been expunged from it. Since this misinformation is used tendentiously to create a climate of would-be-anti-Serb mood in Montenegro and of Serb and Montenegrin literature being pitted against each other, the Presidium of the Association of Montenegrin Writers is compelled, says a statement issued by them today, to deny publicly and categorically these and similar false statements that, unfortunately, are increasingly present in some information media. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1332 GMT 13 May 85]

YUGOSLAV-GREEK TOURIST COOPERATION--Yugoslavia's and Greece's national tourist organizations intend to expand mutual cooperation, primarily through joint participation in third markets, better information of tourists in their respective countries on tourists possibilities of the other country, and through linking of the two neighbouring countries' significant tourist events. This is a result of agreement reached last night at talks between presidents of the two countries national tourist organizations held in Athens. [Excerpt] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 1350 GMT 11 May 85]

DJURANOVIC GREETSS CSSR PRESIDENT--In connection with its national holiday and the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the Czechoslovak Socialist republic, on behalf of the SFRY presidency veselin Djuranovic, president of the SFRY presidency, has sent Gustav Husak, president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, a telegram with cordial felicitations and best wishes for the prosperity and further successes of the friendly Czechoslovak people in the socialist construction of their country. Among other things the telegram stresses the importance which Yugoslavia attaches to further promotion of traditionally friendly relations and all-round mutually useful cooperation between the two countries. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1120 GMT 8 May 85]

SUKRIJA GREET CSSR PRESIDENT--Ali Sukrija, president of the LCY Central Committee presidium, on behalf of the LCY Central Committee presidium and on his own behalf, has sent to Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of Czechoslovakia, a message of congratulations in connection with the 40th anniversary of the liberation and the Czechoslovak national holiday with cordial felicitations and best wishes for the successful development of Czechoslovakia and for the prosperity of the friendly peoples of Czechoslovakia. The telegram also expresses satisfaction over the successful development of relations and cooperation between the LCY and the CPCZ and between our two countries, and also the conviction that they will go on developing in the interest of the peoples of the SFRY and of Czechoslovakia, international cooperation based on an equal footing, peace, and social progress. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1026 GMT 8 May 85]

DELEGATION IN ALGIERS--Development of cooperation between Algeria and Yugoslavia received a favorable assessment during a talk yesterday evening between head of the secretariat of the Algerian National Liberation Front (FLN) Central Committee Cherif Messaadia and a delegation of the Yugoslav Secretariat for Internal Affairs, headed by deputy Interior Secretary Mirko Bunevski. The talk was attended also by Algerian minister of the interior and member of the FLN Central Committee Secretariat Sadik Zouaten. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 1648 GMT 19 May 85]

MAMULA RECEIVES YPA OFFICERS--In connection with 13th May, Security Day, Admiral of the Fleet Branko Mamula, federal secretary of national defense, today received at the national defense secretariat representatives of the security organs and services in the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] led by Lieutenant Colonel General Jere Grubisic and Rear Admiral Stane Brovet. Congratulating them on the holiday, the federal secretary stressed especially that in its present work this service has attained noted successes and that these successes oblige it during the ensuing period, as they did in the past, to pay full attention to the implementation of daily tasks, especially in the increasingly complex international military and economic situation. Giving thanks on behalf of the YPA security services members for the best wishes addressed to them, Lt Col Gen Jere Grubisic said that in their future work too the YPA security organs and services will make maximum efforts to successfully carry out the tasks set before them. [passage omitted] [Excerpt] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1236 GMT 13 May 85]

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